

# The **HISTORICAL BULLETIN**

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# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History

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Vol. XXXIII

May, 1955

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# THE MAGNANIMOUS CHARACTER OF THE MEDIEVAL FOLK HERO AS REVEALED IN THE BALLADS

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## INTRODUCTION

Cryst have mercy on his soule,  
That dyed on the rode!  
For he was a good outlawe,  
And dyde pore men moch god.<sup>1</sup>

To some extent, these closing lines of *A Geste of Robyn Hode* reveal the paradoxical character of that famous outlaw: in the eyes of the peasantry, he was as naturally perfect (suggestedly pagan *outlawe*) as he was supernaturally so (suggestedly Christian *dyde . . . god*). As we shall see in our brief study of the folk hero, this ideal of the peasants manifested the pagan-godly virtues of physical prowess and wiliness, and played the rôle of benefactor-malefactor; while at the same time he exemplified the key Christian virtues of humility and charity.

The character of the folk hero—especially Robin Hood and Little John, described in several early folk ballads—exemplifies magnanimity as the peasants of medieval England conceived of this virtue. Robin Hood, considered as a human being, is the ideal man used by the peasants to supplant the ideal of the upper classes—the knight of chivalry; he possesses the virtues which the real knights of England, by and large, lacked. But Robin is more than human: he is a remnant of pagan beliefs in the woodland deities, not unlike the *sidhe* in his powers, but benevolent where those spirits are evil.<sup>2</sup> Robin Hood is god-in-man to the peasant singers, and as such his function as a replacement for the corrupt knights of reality takes on real significance.<sup>3</sup>

In keeping with the human side of the folk hero, he is invariably represented as a yeoman, or representative of the people outside nobility and clergy, rather than as a knight. His virtues,

<sup>1</sup> *A Geste of Robyn Hode*, Stanza 456. Printed in W. M. Hart (ed.), *English Popular Ballads* (New York: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1916), p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. K. Wells, *The Ballad Tree* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950), pp. 17-19, for a successful refutation of Child's denial that Robin Hood has any prenatural significance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. W. Lawrence, *Medieval Story and the Beginning of the Social Ideals of English-Speaking People* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926), pp. 178-179.

too, are less sophisticated than those of the ideal knight because orthodox Christianity had come to be associated with the upper classes: clergymen were often manor lords,<sup>4</sup> and sometimes were no less strict masters than the too often arrogant lay nobility.<sup>5</sup>

Robin Hood, and his counterpart, Little John, consequently, are ideal peasant types, exhibiting the virtues of the unlettered Christian (like Beowulf, the Christianity of the new convert from paganism) rather than the manifold orthodox beliefs of the later medieval period, and the powers and ideals of ancient pagan deities and heroes.

The folk heroes' basic character can be seen, to a great degree in both its Christian and its pagan aspects, in the following words of Dan Michel:

A god uele byep per kynges and of barouns ine  
pe wordle / pet habbep casteles / cites /  
and regnes / pet ne nabbep nazt pis lhordsip.  
pet of hare herten: ne byep nazt lhordes.

As we shall see, the folk hero of *hise herte byep ane lhord*.

#### PAGAN VIRTUES OF THE FOLK HEROES

##### I Physical Prowess

Typically pagan, the virtues of this category are characteristic of Robin Hood and his men, and concern chiefly their doughtiness (courage, bravery, boldness) and their skill with the longbow.

Robin's courage and boldness are revealed at numerous points in the ballads, as in *Robyn Hode and the Munke*: our hero, alone and beset by the sheriff of Nottingham's men, shows no hesitation in meeting them—

. . . Robyn toke out a too-hond sworde,  
That hangit down be his kne;  
Ther as the schereff and his men stode thyckust,  
Thethurwarde wolde he.

Thryes thorowout them he ran then,  
For sothe as I yow sey,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A *Geste of Robyn Hode*, Stanza 378: Robin tells the abbot:  
And ye have chyrches and rentes both,  
And gold full grete plente. . . .

<sup>5</sup> For a good example of this, see the attitude of the St. Albans Chronicler in that section of the Chronicle concerned with the Great Revolt of 1381.

<sup>6</sup> R. Morris (ed.), *Azenbite of Inwytt, or, Remorse of Conscience, by Dan Michel in the Kentish Dialect, 1340 A.D.* (London: Published for the EETS by N. Trübner, 1866), p. 85.

And woundyt mony a moder son,  
And twelve he slew that day.<sup>7</sup>

And, in the song *Robyn Hode and Guy of Gisborne*, Robin reproves Little John for suggesting that he stay out of danger:

"A, Iohn, by me thou setts noe store,  
And that's a ffarley thinge;  
How oft send I my men beffore,  
And tary my-selfe behinde?" (St. 9)

The yeomens' skill with the longbow, which won Crècy and Poitiers for the English armies, is a predominant factor in the character of the folk hero. In the song of *Guy of Gisborne*, Little John, after having been freed from the evil sheriff by Robin and the others, reveals his skill with the bow:

The sheriffe saw Little Iohn draw a bow  
And ffettle him to shoote.  
  
Towards his house in Nottingam  
He ffled full fast away,  
And soe did all his companye,  
Not one behind did stay.  
  
But he cold neither soe fast goe,  
Nor away soe fast runn,  
But Little Iohn, wth an arrow broade,  
Did cleave his heart in twinn. (Sts. 56-58)

We see further evidence of the outlaws' skill in

A GESTE OF ROBYN HODE:  
Thre tymes Litell Johnn shet aboute,  
And alwey he slet the wande. . . .  
  
The sherif swore a full greate othe:  
"By hym that dyede on a tre,  
This man is the best arschére  
That ever yet sawe I me." (Sts. 146-147)

\* \* \*

Whan they had shot aboute,  
These archours fayre and good,  
Evermore was the best,  
For soth, Robyn Hode. (St. 294)

\* \* \*

The outlawes shot was so stronge  
That no man myght them dryve,  
And the proudë sheryfës men,  
They fled away full blyve. (St. 300)

<sup>7</sup> *Robyn Hode and the Munke*, Stanzas 26-27. Printed in Hart, *op. cit.* The various ballad lines quoted below are taken from this collection.

Robin Hood, then, like Heroes before his time—Achilles, Odysseus, Beowulf, Siegfried, and Cuchulain—exemplifies the pagan virtue of physical prowess, which gains him honor, even from his enemies. In the ballads, honor is gained by the heroes' skill at shooting matches, and by their bravery in battle with the sheriff of Nottingham. But mere skill at fighting, and animal-like boldness, were not the heroes' only virtues: wiliness is quite as important as these.

## II Wiliness

This virtue is exemplified primarily by Little John. Robin Hood, in conformity with his quasi-divinity, is normally more sober and manifests greater intellectual profundity than his fellows. Nevertheless, we have one notable example of his wiliness in *Robyn Hode and Guy of Gisborne* (Sts. 23-58). This episode in the tale concerns Robin's rescue of Little John by deception of the evil representative of organized law, Guy of Gisborne. The outlaw meets Guy in the forest, interests the latter in a shooting match, and reveals his identity after winning the shoot. When he has slain Sir Guy, Robin dons the man's clothing and calls the sheriff, informing him that Robin Hood is dead. Then, on the pretext of executing Little John, "Sir Guy" frees the captive, who in turn slays the sheriff.

The rescue of Robin Hood by Little John in *Robyn Hode and the Munke* (Sts. 35-72) is essentially the same story as the one referred to above, except that John kills a monk and, using that clergyman's attire, obtains the privy seal from the king, gains entrance as a guest in the sheriff's house, and rescues his master, Robin Hood.

Little John again beguiles the sheriff of Nottingham in the *Geste* (Sts. 146-189). Seeing Little John shoot at a match, the sheriff asks his identity, to which the outlaw replies:

Men cal me Reynolde Grenëlef [i.e., King of the Forest]  
Whan I am at home. (St. 149)

Becoming the sheriff's servant, Little John swears to himself,

I shall be the worst servaunt to hym  
That ever yet had he. (St. 154)

He carries this out by persuading the sheriff's stalwart cook to become an outlaw. The two men then plunder the sheriff's treasure-hoard and, not yet satisfied, "Reynolde Grenëlef" places

the official in the hands of Robin Hood, who shows both the cowardice and the mortality of that dignitary by subjecting him to the rigors of forest life—fit only for hardy outlaws who are truly *Reynolde Grenéleves*.

It is in relation to this pagan virtue of wiliness that a double standard of morality appears in the ballads about Robin Hood. When cunning and deception are practiced by the outlaws, such actions are considered both natural and good by the singers; on the other hand, when the representatives of the upper classes or of organized law perform the same sort of actions, the perpetrators are portrayed as lying or being false. This strengthens the case for the godliness of the folk heroes (within limits, of course), since even pagan gods could use any means to secure their good ends. It is notable that, in all their intrigue and deception, the outlaws are never shown as evil or untruthful. Closely associated with this are the following godlike traits of the folk heroes.

### III The Folk Hero as Saviour of the Distressed and Executioner of the Oppressors

The folk hero, as a quasi-divinity, has a real function in the ballads as a helper of those who are good but suffering misfortune. In the *Geste* (Sts. 21-125, 335-352), especially, this rôle is shown by their help given to the good knight, Sir Richard, who is being cheated of his land by the evil monks and corrupt justices of the realm. In the same ballad, too, one finds a succinct statement of the rewarding and punitive functions of the folk heroes: Robin, giving instructions to his men, says,

. . . loke ye do no husbonde harme,  
That tilleth with his ploughē.

No more ye shall no gode yeman  
That walketh by grenē-wode shawe;  
Ne no knyght ne no squyer  
That wol be a gode felawē.

These bisshoppes and these arche-bishoppes,  
Ye shall them bete and bynde;  
The hyē sherif of Notyngham,  
Hym holde ye in your mynde. (Sts. 13-15)

We find numerous examples of the outlaws' function as executioners of those who are evil. In the *Geste* (Sts. 215-224), Little John, Much the Miller's Son, and Will Scarlok, seeking someone who can be their dinner guest, encounter a monk and

his large retinue on Watling Street. One of the monks in the company insults Robin Hood—

“Who is your mayster?” sayd the monke;  
 Lytell Johan sayd, Robyn Hode;  
 “He is a stronge thefe,” sayd the monke,  
 “Of hym herd I never good.” (St. 221)—

whereupon the outlaws kill or drive away all the company but three:

Of two and fyfty wyght yonge yemen  
 There abode not one,  
 Saf a lytell page and a grome,  
 To lede the somers with Lytel Johan. (St. 224)

Later, after having been mistreated by the outlaws, the leader of the monks (who had been taken with the groom and the page) complains:

“That were no curteysye,  
 To bydd a man to dyner,  
 And syth hym bete and bynde.”  
 “It is oldë maner,” saiyd Robyn,  
 “To leve but lytell behynde.” (Sts. 256-257)

More common than the slaying of those who are generally evil is the execution of the sheriffs of Nottingham. In the *Geste* we see this graphically illustrated during the rescue of Sir Richard:

Robyn bent a full goode bowe,  
 An arrowe he drowe at wyll;  
 He hyt so the proudë sherife  
 Upon the grounde he lay ful stil.

And or he myght up aryse,  
 On his fete to stonde,  
 He smote of the sherifs hede  
 With his brightë bronde.

\* \* \*

His men drewe out theyr bryght swerdes,  
 That were so sharpe and kene,  
 And layde on the sheryves men,  
 And dryved them downe bydene (Sts. 347-348, 350)

The evil Sir Guy is dealt with similarly by Robin. After slaying that individual, Robin Hood

. . . tooke Sir Guys head by the hayre,  
 And sticked itt on his bowes end:

"Thou hast been traytor all thy liffe,  
Which thing must have an ende."

Robin pulled forth an Irish kniffe,  
And nicked Sir Guy in the fface,  
That hee was never on a woman borne  
Cold tell who Sir Guye was. (Sts. 41-42)

The traits of the folk hero which we have seen—physical prowess, wiliness, and the dual rôle of benefactor and executioner—are clearly pagan in origin, but to the folk singers they reflect the excellence of Robin Hood and his followers. We find one major difference between the ancient pagan heroes and the medieval folk heroes, however: the latter do not seek honor as the absolute or only end of their actions. This is linked to the quasi-divinity of the folk hero—he receives honor (gratitude, adulation, gifts) but does not require it to satisfy his nature. Moreover, his very pride seems quite natural, for the singers praise it as a virtue in Robin Hood at the same time that they condemn it as a sin in the sheriff. This, again, suggests that the folk hero is a demi-god, to whom pride is good and worthy, as contrasted with the unworthiness of pride in a mere mortal such as the sheriff.

At this juncture of our study we must take notice once more of the paradoxical character of the folk hero. Thus far we have observed that Robin Hood and his fellows possess the two major pagan virtues—physical prowess and wiliness—along with quite important functions as helpers of the oppressed and executioners of the oppressors. But the folk singer was not content with these qualities alone: the hero of the ballads is not only a magnanimous pagan, but also a true Christian. The virtues of humility as reliance upon God and charity as largesse are as significant in the characterization of folk heroes as prowess and wiliness.

#### CHRISTIAN VIRTUES OF THE FOLK HEROES

The chief Christian virtue of the folk hero (paradoxically, in relation to his pride) is his humility. Throughout the Robin Hood ballads we encounter statements of the outlaws' dependence upon God the Father, and of their love of Jesus and Mary. In the story of *Robyn Hode and the Munke*, for example, we see an expression of this:

Whan Robyn came to Notyngham,  
Sertenly withouten layn,

He prayed to God and myld Mary  
To bring hym out save agayn. (St. 17)

Later, when Robin is captured, Little John tells the other outlaws,

"He has servyd Oure Lady many a day,  
And yet wil, securly;  
Therfor I trust in hir specialy  
No wyckud det shal he dye." (St. 34)

John himself speaks in the same vein in the story of *Guy of Gisborne*:

"Thou shalt be drawen by dale and downe," quoth the sheriffe,  
"And hanged hye on a hill."  
"But thou may ffayle," quoth Little Iohn,  
"If itt be Christs owne will." (St. 20)

Robin's reliance on and love of God is more completely shown in the following passage from the *Geste*:

A gode maner than had Robyn;  
In londe where that he were,  
Every day or he wold dyne  
Thre messis wolde he here.

The one in the worship of the Fader,  
And another of the Holy Gost,  
The thirde of Our derë Lady,  
That he loved all the moste.

Robyn loved Oure derë Lady;  
For dout of dydle synne,  
Wolde he never do compani harme  
That any woman was in. (Sts. 8-10)

This humility (recognition of creaturehood) of Robin Hood and his fellows is closely associated with the last of those virtues characteristic of the folk heroes—charity as exemplified by largesse.

In the *Geste*, after the good knight tells his tale of woe and persecution at the hands of the evil prelates, Robin Hood, on the security of Our Lady, loans him £400. In this section of the song we learn definitely that the largesse of the outlaws is not merely pagan hospitality or gift-giving, but Christian charity.

"Come nowe furth, Litell Johnn,  
And go to my tresourë,  
And bringe me foure hundreded pound,  
And loke well tolde it be."

Furth than went Litell Johnn,  
 And scarlok went before;  
 He tolde oute foure hundred pounde  
 By eight and twenty score.

"Is thys well tolde?" sayde litell Much;  
 Johnn sayde, "What greveth the?  
 It is almus to helpe a gentyll knyght,  
 That is fal in povertë."      Sts. 67-69

The stanzas following these describe the other gifts given the knight by the outlaws: cloth, a palfrey, a pack horse, boots, gilded spurs, and the loan of Little John as his squire. Such is the charity of the folk heroes, not so well developed, naturally, as in sophisticated literature, but sufficient to reveal that the heroes were not only great as pagans but magnanimous also as children of God.

#### CONCLUSION:

##### MAGNANIMITY IN THE CHARACTER OF THE FOLK HERO

As we have seen, the virtues of the folk hero are at once pagan and Christian: pagan wiliness and physical prowess, Christian humility and charity. But, since the pagan virtues invariably are manifested in relation to actions centering about the Christian virtues,<sup>8</sup> we may rightfully say that the latter are of greater importance to the medieval folk-singer. Moreover, a leaning toward the Christian side of the picture would conform more to the folk-singers' traditions and, in fact, their whole way of life in the medieval Christian civilization. With this in mind, let us examine a few medieval ideas of virtue which might have reached the English peasantry.

##### MAGNANIMITY

This virtue, especially as revealed in the ballads, is primarily Christian, although in some instances it is associated with the heretical theory of dominion promulgated by Marsilius of Padua

<sup>8</sup> Example: the punishment of the evil (avaricious, untruthful) clergy by the outlaws; punishment of the evil (untruthful) representatives of organized law by the folk heroes; the use of wiliness in accomplishing what is basically a charitable action—destroying the evil oppressors of the good people; and the association of Christian humility with all actions, whether they involve wiliness, physical prowess, or the rewarding and punitive functions of the heroes.

early in the fourteenth century and by John Wyclif in the 1370's and onward,<sup>9</sup> and reaching the people through the lollards.

The description of magnanimity as magnificence by Robert of Brunne (*pe sixte degree of douzynesse pei clepen magnificence, pat is grete hizenesse*<sup>10</sup>), though brief, fits well the character of our folk hero. Not a knight or a king, Robin Hood is, in many ways, greater—in the eyes of the peasantry he is a demigod who punishes the wicked and rewards the good, as distinct from the typical king or knight who were mere political or social leaders and not always properly just. Thomas Occleve's description of the great man, however (*He medleth never but of thynges grete / And hye and vertuous, he never is mevede / With smale thynges*<sup>11</sup>), applies to magnanimity as relative to the ideal knight rather than to this virtue as found in a folk hero.

*The Book of Vices and Virtues* adds ambition in virtue to Occleve's description: *pis vertue hap tweie parties: grete pinges to despice, and wel grettene to vndertake and to chese.*<sup>12</sup> But more closely related to the character of Robin Hood, perhaps, than any of the foregoing definitions is the modification given to magnanimity by Dan Michel:

Alsuo per ne is non zope lhordssip: bote ine uirtue. A grat lhord he is: pet to huam al pe wordle seruep. Zuych lhordssip / yefp man grace and uirtue. . . . Virtue makp ane man / more arizt lhord of pe wordle: panne by pe Kyng / of his regne.<sup>13</sup>

This same Christian attitude, linked closely with the humility of Robin Hood, is maintained by the Lollard author of the *Lanterne of Litz*:

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. H. Dahmus, *The Prosecution of John Wyclif* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), pp. 39ff.

<sup>10</sup> F. J. Furnivall (ed.), *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne," A.D. 1303, With those Parts of the Anglo-French Treatise on which it was Founded, William of Wadinton's "Manuel des Pechiez"* (London: Published for the EETS by K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1901), p. 168.

<sup>11</sup> T. Wright (ed.), *De Reginime Principum, a Poem. By Thomas Occleve* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1860), p. 142.

<sup>12</sup> W. N. Francis (ed.), *The Book of Vices and Virtues / A Fourteenth Century English Translation of the Somme le Roi of Lorens D'Orleans* (London: Printed for the EETS by H. Milford, 1942), p. 164.

<sup>13</sup> Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

Heere ze Kyngis. & vndirstonde ze knyztis / for power is  
oonly of pe Lord. & strengpe comeþ of him pat is hizest / pat  
schal aske reckenyng. of alle zoure werkis.<sup>14</sup>

The folk heroes' charity, portrayed especially by their largesse in *A Geste of Robyn Hode*, is, like humility, associated with their greatness of soul. Occleve, once more, indicates the relationship between largesse and honor, as follows:

And for largesse wynnethe gode renoune,  
Thereof thynke I now to trete a litell stounde.  
A prynce and a kyng of alle a regioune  
Mote avarice threste doun to grounde.<sup>15</sup>

To summarize, then; the folk heroes of the ballads (specifically, Robin Hood and Little John) exemplify the major pagan and Christian virtues. As pagans, they are strong, fearless, and skilled at fighting the evil members of society, as well as wily in all their actions. Moreover, they act in a quasi-godlike capacity as just saviours of the oppressed and executioners of the oppressors. As Christians, they are both humble and charitable: they constantly state their dependence upon God and show their love of Him by acts of goodness. And, finally, as Christians they are truly magnanimous men, their virtues being not inconsistent with the ideals of such virtues described by several writers of medieval homiletic tracts.

<sup>14</sup> L. M. Swinburn (ed.), *The Lanterne of Lizz* (London: Published for the EETS by K. Paul, Trenche, Trübner and Co., 1917), p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

## THE SPANISH MARRIAGE CRISIS, 1846-1848

ALBERT J. LOOMIS\*

From the death of Ferdinand VII in September, 1833, to the dethroning of Queen Isabella II in September, 1865, the political life of Spain could not have had more changes and convulsions. During these thirty-five years there were forty-one governments and two civil wars, the first Carlist War lasting six years. There were two regencies and the removal of one queen from the throne, there were three constitutions drafted, fifteen military uprisings and numerous other disturbances. This pitiable record which was to be repeated in later periods of Spanish history has led the historians to assign two principal causes for Spanish political weakness: the conflicting strategies of the foreign powers interfering in the Iberian peninsula to their own advantage, and secondly the absence of political education in the responsible sections of Spanish society.

This analysis would be sterile unless it is seen actually at work in a political situation; then a more lifelike and illuminating pattern of events takes place. The Spanish Marriages will always be the *cause célèbre* of the 1840s. For with it there unfolded the spectacle of the chanceries of Europe turning to the diplomacy of three centuries before and seeking by the outworn devise of a "dynastic marriage" to strengthen their position in Spain. Many of the details are an interesting parallel to Henry VIII's negotiations and marriage of Anne of Cleves or Elizabeth's strategy in asking for the hand of the Duke of Anjou or Philip's marriage of Mary Tudor, to name but a few of the more familiar dynastic alliances. All of Europe assumed that the marriage of the Infanta was the key to the ultimate domination of the peninsula, but the course of events in the second half of the nineteenth century was to prove how foolish this belief actually was.

The death of Ferdinand VII on September 29th, 1833, was the occasion of a breach in the royal family that had disastrous consequences on the monarchy for the rest of its existence in Spain. The monarchists were of divided allegiance toward Don Carlos and Christina. The crown became at odds with its natural defenders and was forced to rely on politicians and generals who

\* Father Loomis, who received his degree from Fordham, is at present engaged in extensive research in Europe.

sought to limit royal authority without supplying an adequate constitutional substitute. The split between the throne and the altar, begun under the "enlightened" Charles III, was widened by the dominance of the anti-clerical liberals in the policy of Queen Christina. As a consequence the country's economic life was disrupted for decades and became increasingly vulnerable to pressures by Catalonian mercantilists, abortive French smuggling and British zeal for free trade.

The first Carlist War between the supporters of Don Carlos and those loyal to Christina was fundamentally a confused but costly struggle carried on by small bodies of *guerrilleros*; it was marked by the usual Spanish extremes of heroism and savagery. Waged mainly in the north where provincialism and extreme clericalism also played a part, the war dragged on for years bleeding Spain of her vitality and, as in all Spanish civil wars, leaving unhealed wounds for decades later. While Madariaga's oft-quoted remark on the typical Spaniard as being either an anarchist or a dictator seems hardly an overstatement, there were in fact political parties during this period with considerable numerical followings. The principal ones were the following. The *Carlistas* were monarchists devoted to the more legitimate claims of Don Carlos. They were aristocratic, traditionalist and tended to favor the northern regional sentiments. The *Moderados* were conservative, supporting the narrow constitution (*Estatuto Real*) of 1834. Because of the affinity of their concepts with the July Monarchy in France they were usually Francophile in temper. The *Progressistas* considered themselves the party of liberal progress; they were interested in a strong parliamentary system based on the wider constitution of 1812. Naturally they looked to England for inspiration, but their instincts were more inclined to copy liberal institutions than to understand them and base them properly on the political realities of the country. All of these parties suffered from factionalism and their political manifestos changed with the times. The nature of the various political currents in Spain at this time can be estimated in a study of the large number of pamphlets, tracts, satires, articles and broadsides of the different parties. The literature demonstrates juvenile enthusiasm, confusion, bigotry, partisanship but rarely statesmanship.

The affair of the "Spanish Marriages", for all its intrigue and pettiness, is of considerable importance in understanding the decline of the July Monarchy on the eve of the convulsions of

1848. By winning the hand of the Infanta Louisa Fernanda for the Duc de Montpensier, over Palmerston's objections, Guizot broke up the valuable Anglo-French *entente* begun in 1843. In the perilous isolation that followed, France had to woo Metternich's favor and end her flirtation with Mazzinian radicals seeking Austrian expulsion from Italy. This curb of a popular Cisalpine drive and effort to appease Vienna increased the opponents of the July Monarchy by a large and vociferous group of radicals. Their cries for the dismissal of Guizot began the chain reaction that ended in the debacle at the barricades in February, 1848. It is something of a paradox that Guizot's triumph in Spain brought on his downfall in Paris two years later. It is from these deep international tensions that the affair of the "Spanish Marriages" takes its significance.

The future husband of Isabella, the Queen of Spain since 1843, had been the topic of much speculation in Europe's *haute politique*. There was no less interest in the nuptials of the Infanta Louisa. Sir Henry Bulwer had epitomized Europe's concern at this time with the oft-quoted remark: "On the throne of Spain, sits the destiny of Spain." By the spring of 1846, the governments most likely to have a final say in the choice of a husband were clearly England and France. To implement their designs, these powers began dynastic intrigues reminiscent of the diplomacy of a century previous.

England favored Don Enrique de Seville, who had declared himself a *Progressista*, the pro-British Liberal party. Second in preference was Leopold of Saxe-Coburg who would thus add another marriage alliance to a house already related to the rulers of England, Belgium and Portugal. France favored Don Francisco de Asis, who had remained neutral in politics, and the Duc de Montpensier, third son of Louis-Philippe who would obviously be a valuable ally in forwarding French designs in Madrid.<sup>1</sup> For a while Guizot had planned a tripartite Bourbon League by family alliances at Paris, Naples and Madrid, but the scheme fell through.<sup>2</sup>

In an admirable attempt to quiet British fears over a possible French succession to the Crown of Spain, by a Montpensier

<sup>1</sup> For Guizot's estimate of the various Bourbon princes, see the Memorandum to St. Aulaire, February, 1846, in his *Mémoires*, (Paris, 1872) VIII, 251-255.

<sup>2</sup> E. J. Parry, "A Review of the Relations between Guizot and Aberdeen", *History*, XXIII, p. 31.

marriage, the two powers talked over differences at the Chateau D'Eu. On September 8, 1845, Guizot and Louis-Philippe entered into two verbal "engagements" over the Spanish marriages. They promised that no son of the King of the French would marry the Spanish Queen, and that the Duc de Montpensier could in no case marry the Infanta Louisa until Isabel had children and thus remove the prospect of a direct French succession.<sup>3</sup>

British policy had given no opportunity to Guizot and Louis-Philippe to break their promises. Peel did not commit himself to any French proposals over Spain, merely advising Paris that he was advocating a conciliatory policy by which all interests would be satisfied.<sup>4</sup> Even Aberdeen, who had a blind faith in the integrity of Guizot saw clearly that he had to take care: "there were elements of difference at every step."<sup>5</sup>

The situation changed when the Russell government came into power in July. Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, at once revived the policy of supporting the *Progressistas* that he had previously pursued.<sup>6</sup> In a very precipitous move, he told Sir Henry Bulwer, his envoy at Madrid, to place Leopold of Saxe-Coburg on Britain's list of candidates, along with the *Progressista* Don Enrique de Seville. He included in this note, dated July 18, 1846, a bitter attack on the tyranny of the *Moderados* then in power. Under the pretext of keeping France informed of British views on the Spanish marriages, he showed the communique to Jarnac, the French Ambassador at London. Palmerston knew the contents would be passed on to Madrid, and he hoped to make his attitude on the *Moderados* clearer.<sup>7</sup>

The British Foreign Secretary did not realize the effect of his despatch on Guizot and the King of the French. Both pretended to see a British *coup* on the marriages. Guizot, claiming a violation of the agreements at Eu thought himself free of all commitments on the marriages. He charged that England had promised that none but a Bourbon would be proposed.

<sup>3</sup> Palmerston to Normanby, Oct. 31, 1846; *State Papers*, LXIX, "Correspondence relating to the Marriages of the Queen and Infanta of Spain."

<sup>4</sup> Guizot, *Memoires*, VIII, 116.

<sup>5</sup> Aberdeen to Lieven, Dec. 8, 1843; "The Correspondence of Lord Aberdeen and Princess Lieven", *Camden Third Series*, LX, (London, 1938). Hereafter C.A.L.

<sup>6</sup> See the author's "Espartero and the British Foreign Office, 1838-43" in *The Historical Bulletin*, March, 1950 p. 53 f.

<sup>7</sup> July 19, 1846; *State Papers*, LXIX, "Correspondence relating to the Marriages . . .".

At once the Duc de Montpensier was put forward for the hand of the Infanta. Palmerston, unaware of Guizot's swift maneuver, sought only to make his position stronger at Madrid. He seemed ignorant of the angry reaction of the *Moderados* to his denunciations of their regime. He chaffed at the policy of Aberdeen, whose passivity had allowed France to assume an "authority of dictation" while England had only the right "to give an opinion and advice."<sup>8</sup>

Queen Victoria, disturbed at Palmerston's eagerness, wrote to Lord John Russell that an aggressive policy would bring France and England to quarrels which "would doom Spain to eternal convulsions". England, warned the Queen, had become responsible for a particular direction in the internal government of Spain which could not be controlled from London.<sup>9</sup> Her advice was prophetic but unheeded.

Meanwhile, Guizot, the traditional ally of the *Moderados*, found a true friend in the Queen Mother, Christina. After strong arguments for a French candidate, the young Queen Isabella was coerced into accepting Don Francisca de Asis as her husband and at the same time the Infanta Louisa was betrothed to the Duc de Montpensier. The Queen Mother was so Francophile that her original plan had been to marry the French prince to the Queen.<sup>10</sup> The French triumph, according to Greville, was due entirely to Christina's hold on the government. "The Cabinet is nothing but a knot of her satellites . . . the Cortes is packed . . . the Press is gagged; the people cannot make themselves heard."<sup>11</sup> No matter what the conditions of his victory, August 29, 1846, was the high point of Guizot's career.

In London the reaction to the news from Madrid was a mixture of surprise and anger. Even Queen Victoria, who disliked Palmerston emphatically, considered the marriage an "infamous" affair. The King of the French could consider the *entente cordiale* ruined by his action.<sup>12</sup>

Guizot, who hoped that Palmerston's unpopularity would discredit any British protests, was frightened at the unanimity of

<sup>8</sup> Palmerston to Victoria, Aug. 19, 1846; *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, (Benson & Esher, edd.) (London, 1907). Hereafter L.Q.V.

<sup>9</sup> Victoria to Russell, Aug. 17, 1846; L.Q.V. For the influence of her criticism on Russell and Palmerston, see *The Greville Memoir*, (Strachey, Fulford edd.) (London, 1938) V, 354.

<sup>10</sup> Guizot, *Memoires*, VIII, 306.

<sup>11</sup> *The Greville Memoir*, V, 352.

<sup>12</sup> Victoria to Leopold, Sept. 29, 1846; Nov. 17, 1846. L.Q.V.

English opinion. He glibly protested that the marriage of the Queen was a political question "to be decided at Madrid," while the Montpensier marriage was a family affair "to be decided by the royal families" at Madrid and Paris.<sup>13</sup> Princess Lieven, confidante of Guizot, wrote to Aberdeen in the same vein: "You would never have given the least pretext for the recent conclusion of the marriage of Montpensier. Lord Palmerston has furnished not only the pretext but also the motive . . ."<sup>14</sup>

Palmerston, backed by the public opinion of the country, attacked the French explanations with a bitterness of invective that showed clearly the *entente* was at an end. He wrote to Queen Victoria that the young Queen Isabella was but an instrument to save the personal and political interests of other persons.<sup>15</sup> It was generally believed by all the courts of Europe that Don Francisco had no chance of securing a Spanish succession to the throne since he was understood to be impotent.<sup>16</sup> The likelihood of the children of the Duchess of Montpensier succeeding to the throne on the death of Isabella might turn into a certainty.

The British Foreign Secretary asked the Northern Powers to join him in a protest over the violation of the treaty of Utrecht, which prohibited the union of the crowns of France and Spain in the same person. The *Annual Register* for 1846, however, very sanely remarked that the probabilities of the children of the third son of Louis Philippe gaining the throne of France were very slight indeed.<sup>17</sup> The main advantage in such a move was to arouse the attention of Europe to a question which France would like to consider a "family affair". Lord John Russell wrote to Victoria that France would be cautious in her interference with the internal government of Spain and might not be able to direct her external policy.<sup>18</sup> Palmerston never pressed the argument over the treaty of Utrecht too far, but he did use it in an unsuccessful attempt to force the Duchess of Montpensier to renounce the chance of her children succeeding to the throne of Spain.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Guizot to Jarnac, Sept. 10, 1846; Guizot, *Memoires*, 319.

<sup>14</sup> Lieven to Aberdeen, Paris, Oct. 31, 1846; *C.A.L.*

<sup>15</sup> Palmerston to Victoria, Sept. 12, 1846; *L.Q.V.*

<sup>16</sup> Parry denies that this was the reason for which Guizot urged Don Francisco. *History*, XXIII, 31.

<sup>17</sup> *Annual Register*, 1846, pp. 286-287.

<sup>18</sup> Russell to Victoria, Oct. 1, 1846; *L.Q.V.*

<sup>19</sup> Aberdeen naturally called this move "preposterous and irrational". See Aberdeen to Lieven, November 16, 1846; December 30, 1846. *C.A.L.*

While Palmerston and Guizot were engaged in explaining their position to the world, England, Spain and France discussed the repercussions of the marriages in their legislatures. In England, debate was confined to the House of Lords, where on January 19, 1847, Lord Stanley summed up the Tory reaction with the words:

I do not deem the marriage itself as detrimentally affecting the interests of this country; yet I think that the mode in which the marriage was carried out was objectionable, a slight and a discourtesy. This would not have happened under Aberdeen.<sup>20</sup>

Queen Victoria later wrote to Lord Russell that England's influence in Spain was at an end and France had it "all her own way." To her, the *Progressistas*, while they were the party least servile to France, were most impracticable, "belonging to a lower class of society." In another letter, she expressed her pleasure that England at least had a "strong, advantageous position on the side of integrity, morality and honor."<sup>21</sup>

Spain remained quite indifferent all this time to the heated anxiety of the rest of Europe over this potential French alliance by marriage. The new French prince arrived in Madrid without any demonstrations; there were neither cheers nor insults.<sup>22</sup> The *Moderados* governed by repression and violence, with rapid cabinet changes and several court intrigues to add color. Cabinets appeared for a time and then without any intelligible reason, fell to pieces and disappeared. In nine months, there were six changes of *Moderado* ministries.<sup>23</sup> Confronted with a *fait accompli*, the Spanish senate allowed the government to defend successfully the wisdom of the marriages.

France, naturally, paid a great deal of attention to this great event, and the debate on the speech from the throne mentioning the Montpensier marriage extended from January 18 to February 4, 1847. Opinion was by no means in entire support of Guizot. Ferdinand de Lesseps was violently opposed. He believed that the marriage negotiations were against the principles of the July Revolution. The insistence on a Bourbon prince as King Consort was ridiculous, he said, since Louis-Philippe had become king, *quoique Bourbon*, in spite of being a Bourbon. De Lesseps asked that the French government interest itself in good faith and

<sup>20</sup> *Annual Register, 1847* p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Victoria to Russell, March 4, 1846; Oct. 18, 1847. *L.Q.V.*

<sup>22</sup> *Annual Register, 1846* pp. 289-290.

respect for its promises. In their speeches against Guizot, other French liberals praised their Spanish confreres, the *Progressistas*.<sup>24</sup>

Adolphe Theirs, Guizot's bitter rival, made a long and colorful speech on the marriages. His plan seems to have been to expose Guizot's duplicity, while preserving for France the advantages of the Spanish alliance. In his peroration, he gave expression to the most doctrinaire liberalism:

Let there be no conquests, but enlightened protection for liberty, and a resolute defense of the independence of states—that is the policy best suited to France . . . I would represent France holding in one hand a chart, on which should be written: 'the rights of humanity', and in the other hand the hilt of her sword.<sup>25</sup>

Those who defended Guizot, particularly the Duc de Broglie and the Duc de Noailles, merely gave a foretaste of his two very long-winded defenses. Replying to Theirs, Guizot insisted that Palmerston's despatch of July 19, 1846, forced him to act as he did. He quoted a communiqué of M. Bresson, the French envoy at Madrid, stating that Spain was anxious to stop all further intrigues. France, he announced heroically, would have failed Spain if it let the marriage of Montpensier remain uncertain. But Guizot put off the armor of Galahad and hinted at his real aims, once he mentioned the Mediterranean situation:

The possession of Algeria and the good intelligence between France and Spain are at the most but a compensation for what England has acquired. The Mediterranean has too much importance for France for her to look without solicitude at all the changes that may take place . . .<sup>26</sup>

The official correspondence on this incident did not close until February, 1847. The English insisted to the end that there was no official demand for the Saxe-Coburg marriage, and that Guizot's pretensions that England had broken its promise were absurd.<sup>27</sup> Guizot, in a lengthy resume of his defense, likewise

<sup>24</sup> See the speeches of Cremieux, and Garnier Pages in *Annual Register*, 1847, pp. 263-271.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* p. 285. A better estimate of Their's views on the diplomatic scene may be had from his correspondence with Sir Anthony Panizzi. See Louis Fagan, *Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1881) I, pp. 208-217.

<sup>26</sup> *Annual Register*, 1847, pp. 293-296.

<sup>27</sup> *State Papers*, LXIX, "Correspondence relating to the Marriages . . ." Bulwer to Palmerston, Jan. 2, 1847; Palmerston to Normanby, Jan. 8, 1847.

ended any further French representations on the matter at London on January 25.<sup>28</sup>

Although there was considerable publication of documents at the time of the diplomatic crisis, and the memoirs of some actually involved in the intrigues have since been printed, the full appraisal of the motives and policies involved must remain uncertain. Personal factors must be recalled: the family ambition of Louis-Philippe, the vanity of Guizot in planning a set back for Palmerston, the calloused imprudence of Palmerston in showing his July despatch to Jarnac in the hope of galling the *Moderados*, the "ivory tower" idealism of Aberdeen that confused both Guizot and Palmerston, and the hideous self-interest of Christina, who would force such an unhappy marriage on her daughter, Isabel. These factors show no one innocent of responsibility in this very petty, unfortunate intrigue.

Aberdeen's role must not be ignored. In his timid Spanish policy, Aberdeen hoped that, if the Bourbon candidates were proved unavailable, England's disinterested approach would persuade Louis-Philippe to accept a Coburg.<sup>29</sup> The flaw in such a policy was that it was based on his own friendship with Guizot, and did not take into account the personal ambitions of the King of the French. The *entente cordiale* thus became a hot-house friendship, existing only in the calculations of Aberdeen.<sup>30</sup> Guizot was jealous, and his boast that the marriages were a triumph over Palmerston was not an idle one. Neither Aberdeen nor Palmerston ever proposed a Saxe-Coburg as the sole English candidate to the exclusion of the Bourbons.<sup>31</sup> It was sheer duplicity on Guizot's part to assume such a position. Yet Palmerston was responsible for his own defeat in so far as he failed to assure the French on the Coburg candidacy. The price that both countries paid was visible in Poland,<sup>32</sup> Italy and France.

<sup>28</sup> *State Papers*, LXIX, "Continuation of Correspondence", Guizot to St. Aulaire, Jan. 25, 1847. Cf. L. Fagan, *Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, I, pp. 223-232.

<sup>29</sup> E. J. Parry, *The Spanish Marriages*, (London, 1936) 334.

<sup>30</sup> E. J. Parry, *History*, XXIII, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> A selection of letters on the French position was published in *Revue Retrospective*, (Paris, 1848). See the letter of Aberdeen to Guizot, Sept. 14, 1846, (pp. 324-327) for a denial of the Coburg candidacy.

<sup>32</sup> H. C. F. Bell, *Lord Palmerston*, (New York, 1936) I, 389, considers British inactivity in the annexation of Cracow came from this same anger with France.

The House of Orleans lost its strongest ally and entered the crisis of '48 with the hatred of the French radicals. French gains in Spain were partially lost in the political incompetence of Isabel's reign. England had the unusual reward of being on the side of integrity and honor, but effectively blocked in Spain.

Far more serious than any loss of prestige by a British setback in Spain was Palmerston's obsession with revenge. Everywhere he sought to humiliate France, and to achieve this most effectively, Palmerston competed openly for Vienna's favor. Before the harvest of Austrian repression in Italy and elsewhere was reaped in the revolutions of 1848, the possibility of enlightened reforms in Italy, steadied by British diplomatic support, always existed. Charles Greville accurately delineated the situation, when he wrote on February 25, 1847:

Palmerston's fixed idea is to humble France, and to wage a diplomatic war with her on the Spanish marriages and to this object to sacrifice every other. He is moving heaven and earth to conciliate the Northern Courts . . . While there is the finest field open for us in Italy, and a noble part to be played, Palmerston is ready to truckle to Austria. . . .<sup>33</sup>

In the unchecked growth of the revolutionary impulse, far more effective than the romantic rhetoric of Lamartine or Mazzini, was the heavy atmosphere of international distrust, fostered by the mistakes of Guizot and Palmerston in the Spanish crisis of 1846.

<sup>33</sup> *The Greville Memoir*, V, 428. For the failure of Anglo-papal cooperation at this time, see Ross Hoffman, "The Whigs and the Liberal Pope", *Thought*, XXIV, (1949) pp. 83-88.

# WRITINGS IN UNITED STATES CHURCH HISTORY, 1954

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This year marks the tenth anniversary of the annual bibliography on writings concerning the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. The idea was originally conceived by Thomas F. O'Connor and his first bibliography appeared in the April edition of *The Americas* in 1945, covering the publications of 1944. Mr. O'Connor continued to compile the bibliography and to publish it in *The Americas* until his untimely death in 1950. The present compiler aided Mr. O'Connor after his return to Saint Louis University, and decided to continue his work. It was then decided that the bibliography fit admirably into the purposes of the *Historical Bulletin* and since 1951 it has appeared each year in the May issue. As a further aid to the teaching of United States Catholic Church history the present compiler has finished an annotated bibliography on the publication on Church history from 1850-1950 and hopes to have it available for the public soon. Also under preparation is a fact book which will make readily available information on the important events and personages connected with the Catholic Church in the United States.

The annual bibliography consists of a selection of articles dealing with the history of the Church in continental United States and is limited to publications appearing in the previous year, or those which have just come to the attention of the compiler. As all such efforts, it is unavoidably incomplete. Some authors have been kind enough to call attention to their efforts and such help is much appreciated. Any corrections or additions are always welcomed.

The teacher of history, from elementary school through graduate work, will find items of value in a bibliography of this type. A new light on some phase of the story of the Church will help enliven a class, and will further the research toward the solution of many yet untold incidents in the story of Catholicism in America.

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#### GENERAL

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Cizon, Francis A. "Interethnic and Interreligious Marriage Problems in Parish X," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, v. 15 (Oct., 1954), 244-255. A study of a Polish ethnic group in a midwestern city of 60,000 people.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS MEDIAEVAL

*Saint Benedict and His Monks*, by Theodore Maynard. New York. Kenedy. 1954. pp. xiv, 241. \$3.00.

Never did a truly deathless personality leave less *data* for biographers than Saint Benedict of Nursia, patriarch of Western Monasticism. Of him we have: a) a collection of miracle-stories in the second book of Saint Gregory's *Dialogues*, and, b), the *Holy Rule*. Of the *Rule* and its sources some fresh light accrues from time to time, the latest being connected with the *Regula Magistri* (cf. *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1954, 275-79); details are still being sifted, and it does not enter Mr. Maynard's book.

That leaves, then, the stories drawn from St. Gregory's book. Each biographer starts off with that capital, and gives them the 'reconstruction' of being passed through his own mind, and being stated in contemporary idiom. Each biographer, where he differs with his fellow-workers, feels constrained to defend his interpretation of the original *data*. Sometimes so little sure footing is afforded here, that the lately-deceased Cardinal Schuster, himself a Benedictine and life-long scholar, could claim (1951) that Benedict was a *priest* all along, and not a lay-abbot, as all have thought.

This proportionately long note is here set down by way of warning readers from expecting a *Life* in the current fashion of fully documented narrative and psychological interpretation of the great monastic legislator. Mr. Maynard wisely attempts to establish nothing new—beyond a new telling of what is known about Benedict. The bulk of his book discuss the *Rule* and various phases of Benedictine life. Farther on are brief chapters of Cistercian and other reform developments—and the trend towards centralization. A short treatment of Benedictine Spirituality comes at the end. The work—barring an occasional scratch of a sharp pen—has throughout the virtues we have long learned to associate with its industrious author.

Gerald Ellard, Saint Marys, Kansas.

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*Astrology in Roman Law and Politics: I. Astrology in Rome until the End of the Principate*, by Frederick H. Cramer. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Association, vol. 37. Philadelphia. 1954. pp. x, 291. \$5.00.

"The present study does not presume to delve into the problem of astrological influences in Graeco-Roman literature. It confines itself mainly to the impact of astrology on Roman upper-class society, an impact not without consequence at times upon the course of political or military events" (p. 2). The matter is divided into two main parts: *I. The Rise and Triumph of Astrology in the Latin World*, and *II. Astrology in Roman Law until the End of the Principate*. The first part describes the progress of astrology from its hemerological origins in Mesopotamia and propagation throughout Egypt and the Hellenistic world to its advent into Rome, where it is maintained with some exaggeration that astrologers were "the power

behind the throne from Augustus to Domitian" (p. 81). While making no brief for the astrologers, Cramer still praises "their glowing faith in reason" (p. 283). At the same time he has less sympathy for the "Christian fanaticism" which "outlawed astrology and all other forms of divination" (p. 247).

In the second part of his study dealing with astrology and Roman law Cramer has not come to grips with the real problems involved. He makes no reference to Mommsen's *Strafrecht*, which despite its numerous defects, has been since the turn of the century the starting point for practically all subsequent studies in Roman criminal law. Nor has he taken into consideration the important articles of Riccobono, Levy, Orestano, Brecht, De Robertis, Archi, and others who in the past thirty years have written extensively on the *quaestiones perpetuae*, the *cognitio extra ordinem*, the normative value of the imperial edicts, the juridical powers of the emperor, the senate, and the imperial legates. Unless some position is taken with regard to these controverted matters it is impossible to give any adequate legal interpretation to the various kinds of evidence at our disposal for the suppression of astrology at Rome and later in the whole empire.

The author states that "the character and purpose of expulsion decrees against astrologers were misunderstood as early as the first century A.D. . . . Even the keen eye of Tacitus failed or refused to see that such decrees were meant to be emergency measures only" (p. 233), yet he elsewhere maintains that two specific restrictions on astrology in the Augustan edict of 11 A.D. "seem to have been kept 'on the statute books' until the fourth century A.D." (p. 250). There is obviously a problem here which needs to be resolved. Why were some edicts of a permanent character and others not? And can the imperial archives in any proper sense be compared with the English Statute Book? The fact that "the Augustan edict of A.D. 11 would provide splendid material for *maiestas* charges" (p. 253) may be true enough, but was not the primary consideration in the condemning of astrology the fact that it was associated with the demise of individuals rather than with treachery to the state? The *senatusconsulta* of 16 A.D. which provided a *legal* penalty for the art, the *interdictio aquae et ignis*, most likely brought the practice of astrology within the ambit of the *Lex Cornelii de sicariis et veneficis* rather than the *Lex Iulia maiestatis*. In other words, if the case was brought before one of the regular courts it would have been brought before the *quaestio perpetua* that tried cases of murder rather than the *quaestio* which dealt with treason. The fact that astrology was frequently associated with *maiestas* in trials before the senate and the emperor is not too much to the point. The emperor certainly did not feel bound by the laws establishing the *ordo judicorum publicorum* or by his own decrees. Augustus, for example, in punishing adultery *clementiam maiorum suasque ipse leges egrediebatur* (*Tac. Ann.* 3.24). Imperial functionaries, except where specifically restricted by the *princeps* enjoyed much the same liberty: They were *judices* who, in the words of Tacitus, *vi et potestate, non iure et legibus cognoscunt* (*Dial.* 19). The consular-senatorial procedure in like manner did not pass judgment in virtue of the laws, but was above them (Mommsen, *Strafrecht* p. 254). In such circumstances the precise charge under which a person was condemned was sufficiently academic, but certainly the taking of the horoscope of the emperor or of one

of the members of the imperial family was regarded as a kind of treason or *majestas*.

Despite Professor Cramer's failure to go into the intrinsic problems connected with the various *causes célèbres* to be found in Valerius Maximus, Suetonius, and Tacitus, he has gathered together an abundance of material for anyone who has the time and patience to do it.

M. Joseph Costelloe, Saint Louis University.

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*Backgrounds of European Civilization*, by Rod W. Horton and Vincent F. Hopper. New York. Appleton-Century-Crofts. 1953. pp. xiv, 462. \$3.25.

The authors of this book undertook a most ambitious task when they proposed to present within the confines of a small volume the political, social and intellectual development behind the "Great Books" of Western civilization. In an effort to explain the complexity of our cultural growth, the authors attempt to develop the various interactions among what they term the Classical, the Hebraic and the Gothic civilizations.

One is understandably skeptical of such a grandiose project even when it is intended for the college student sallying forth into his first experiences among the "Great Books." Simplification often tends towards obfuscation and misrepresentation of true issues; and the present book seems to justify this generalization.

Controversial issues are often handled as settled. Thus, for instance, speaking of the Hebraic concept of God, the authors blandly state, "From an original polytheism, common to all the neighboring religions, there was a pronounced trend towards monotheism, largely the product of a series of extraordinary religious leaders." (p. 218). Or one may use as an example the footnote on page 258 wherein the reader is informed that "after the establishment of the papacy in 451, earlier bishops of Rome were recognized as previous popes." The authors' simplified presentation of Catholic theology (pp. 260-264) might serve as an introduction to the subject were one to have but slight regard for fact. So, too, the authors' statement that the "worship of Mary was undoubtedly stimulated by remembrances of Germanic woman-worship, by Moslem influences and by Neoplatonic theories" (p. 310) will come as a surprise to students of Mariology.

The contribution of this book is, perhaps, a reiteration of the truism that there is no shortcut to accurate and balanced knowledge.

Jerome J. Marchetti, Saint Louis University.

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*Ancient Science and Modern Civilization*, by George Sarton. Lincoln, Nebraska. Univ. of Nebraska. 1954. pp. 111. \$2.50.

This book reproduces the full text of the three Montgomery Lectures given at the University of Nebraska. Euclid and his time, Ptolemy and his time, the end of Greek science and culture are the lecture titles, embracing in general the early, middle, and late stages of Greek scientific thought. The lectures are mainly historical, putting each man in his proper place in Greek thought and showing his influence on modern civilization. Especially fine is the treatment of Euclid and the development of his famous work, "The Elements". For both non-mathematician and mathematician this lecture is outstanding. The treatment of the 5th postulate of Euclid is

well done. The contents of Ptolemy's "Almagest", "Geography", "Optics", and "Tetrabiblos" are outlined in the second lecture. The last lecture dealing with the period from c 300-529 considers the Greek mathematicians, such as Pappos of Alexandria and his "Synagogue", Byzantine medicine, and the philosophic and religious background of that period.

Of particular interest to the historian is the fine bibliography of the various works considered in the lectures, and a dated history of each published work. With but few exceptions all the works considered in each of the three lectures have been edited since the beginning of the twentieth century—showing modern interest in these men and their works.

For teachers of mathematics the first lecture is by far the most valuable.

John F. Daly, Saint Louis University.

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*The Spring of Civilization: Periclean Athens*, by Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. 1954. pp. 464, 74 plates. \$7.50.

This volume presents richly and fully the significance of the greatest period of antiquity, Periclean Athens, roughly covering the second half of the fifth century before Christ. Four sections, devoted to literature, philosophy, art, and history, contain distinguished translations of six tragedies, of two dialogues of Plato (*The Apology* and *The Symposium*), and of selections from Thucydides' *History* and Xenophon's *Hellenica*, woven together by the editor to form a picture of the Peloponnesian War, and seventy pages of illustrations of the art of Periclean Athens, with emphasis on the Parthenon and other famous buildings of the Acropolis. Each of the four sections is preceded by a brief, highly concentrated introductory essay. Hence, this single volume offers, in what is essentially a firsthand account, the message of an era of history eminently deserving of a hearing from modern society.

Marcus A. Haworth, Saint Louis University.

## MODERN

*The Lie About the West: A Response to Professor Toynbee's Challenge*, by Douglas Jerrold. New York. Sheed and Ward. 1954. pp. 85. \$1.75.

David was successful in his encounter with Goliath because God was on his side. Douglas Jerrold is successful in his attack on Toynbee because he has the truth on his side. Here the likeness ends. David slew Goliath skillfully, neatly. Jerrold bungles the job. He embarrasses one who agrees with the crucial point of the attack—wherein he is right—by his flailing defense of anything labelled "Western." He states specifically, of course, that it is not his intention to defend abuses in Western civilization, but this claim is not borne out by the rest of this little book.

Jerrold is not directly concerned in *The Lie About the West* with Toynbee's six-volume *A Study of History* published before the war or with the four concluding volumes published since Jerrold's response appeared. He is concerned with the Reith Lectures delivered by Toynbee over the BBC and subsequently published as *The World and the West*. In these lectures Toynbee undoubtedly goes too far in making a case for Western aggression against the rest of the world. Jerrold points out well how Toynbee ignores Mohammedan aggressions against Europe, but he goes too far in his zeal

when he claims that Napoleon in Moscow stands not for the West but for a revolt against the West. (There is no point in quibbling here whether the French Revolution is true to Western cultural developments or a revolt against them. The important point is that it is considered part of Western culture by the non-Western world, as are Liberalism and Nationalism ever since 1879.) At any rate it is difficult to look on Cortés as a defender of the West in Mexico City, or Clive and Rhodes defenders of Europe in India and Africa. Toynbee's charge of Western aggressiveness stands after Jerrold picks holes in it, but it must be toned down substantially if it is to be considered a sound interpretation of the past. The difficulty here is that one seldom finds pure aggression or pure defense in any struggle. We must admit that Western culture spread to the rest of the world in modern times—and not always peacefully. We must admit, too, that it was the secular rather than the religious elements of Western culture that took root in non-Western cultures.

One feels somehow that this is all quibbling. The heart of the matter—as Jerrold demonstrates—is that a unique religion came into the West and was a basic factor in forming its social and political institutions as they were formed. Toynbee does not admit the unique break into the historical process by God in the Nativity and Redemption. On this score his religious relativism is completely wrong. On the other hand, it is not correct to insist that Christianity as it was realized historically cannot be compared with other religions as they have been realized in history. Nor is it correct to identify the Church established by Christ with the Western world in which, through circumstances of time and geography, it came to be situated. To say that "Europe is the Faith" is to state an historical fact in the wrong way.

Here, I believe, is the crux of the matter—and both Jerrold and Toynbee fail to maintain throughout their studies the all-important distinction between the Church established by God, and the Church that existed through two thousand years of Western history, an association of men worshipping God in a certain way, gathered into the Mystical Body and benefiting from the flow of supernatural grace, but at the same time worshipping as human persons with prayer and action befitting the particular culture in which they lived. To put it another way, the only flourishing historical embodiment of the Church founded by Christ is the one that grew up in the West, but it does not therefore follow that the Church can never exist in any other culture. It is therefore not accurate to identify the Church and Western civilization, although the two developed together.

The Church influenced—even in a way determined—the social and cultural institutions that developed in this civilization. Thus a civilization came into being that was by and large in harmony with the unique religion of Christianity. In his recent Raymond Fred West Memorial Lectures, Carlton J. H. Hayes expressed this idea more precisely than either Toynbee or Jerrold:

In relating these features of Western Civilization to the prevalent religion of the West, I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that Christianity has been their sole fashioner. I readily concede the concomitant influence of political, economic, and intellectual developments of a non-Christian sort. If I seem to overstress the religious

influence, it is because I am seeking to correct an obscurantist under-stressing of it in recent times.

Nor, when I talk about Christianity, am I undmindful of its roots in Judaism and its cross-fertilization by ancient Graeco-Roman thought and culture. Western civilization, I know well, did not originate in Bethlehem or Nazareth. Elements of it appeared many centuries B.C., and the religious transformation it eventually underwent was through a Christianity which, along with distinctive teachings of its own, held in high esteem both Jewish prophets and Greek philosophers. It is Judaeo-Graeco-Christianity, let me emphasize, which for nineteen centuries has been the prevailing religion of the West.<sup>1</sup>

This was a civilization of sinners as well as of saints, of non-Christian and even anti-Christian institutions as well as Christian. The Liberalism and Nationalism of recent centuries is as much a product of the West as are the saints in the Catholic Church or the missionaries in the Methodist Church. The atom bomb developed in the West, as did DDT and vitamin K, because of the scientific tradition which is as peculiar to the West as is Christianity. One cannot eliminate or deny the moral defects and intellectual aberrations of a culture—any more than one can forget about a man's shortcomings—and pretend that he is drawing a true picture of that culture. This is the tendency of Jerrold's response to Toynbee's challenge.

Toynbee is right, it seems to me, when he maintains that this civilization has been growing less Christian, that religion has lost its initiative. How much this has been going on, quantitatively and qualitatively, it is difficult to know. The temperament of the observer plays a large part in deciding whether the conclusions will be pessimistic or optimistic. But the message of popes and bishops in recent centuries has been that the Western world is less influenced by religion—and they label the process secularization. This Jerrold implicitly denies, though I am sure in another setting he would admit it as a fact.

Toynbee maintains too, that Russia has seized the spiritual initiative. This fills Jerrold with exclamation points and leaves him aghast. But the fact is that Marxian Communism made a stronger appeal to young intellectuals in the West in the 'twenties and 'thirties than did "bourgeois" religion and the traditional Western institutions. It lost this appeal when it was concretely realized in Russia and it was exposed for what it was. It is difficult to know now to what extent it is a "spiritual" appeal and to what extent it is expert technique that accounts for Russia's success in the non-Western parts of the world like China and India. We do know, however, that the West offers bread instead, that it is the businessman and the technician rather than the missionary who too often represents Western civilization to the rest of the world. Jerrold is aghast because he has in mind an intelligent Londoner who sees through the Marxist protest appeal. But he forgets that there are other people in the world than Londoners, and he forgets that the devil is as truly a spirit as is the angel. To say that Russia has seized the spiritual initiative is not to say that Russia is right. Toynbee says quite the contrary. It is only to say that the West has lost the "spiritual" initiative and to imply that religion has lost the

<sup>1</sup> *Christianity and Western Civilization* (Stanford University Press, 1954) p. 8.

initiative in the West. How otherwise can one explain Hitler, technocracy, Hemingway, birth control, or even the Bolshevik victory in Russia?

In summary, Jerrold seems to be defending an idealized West against Toynbee's rather realistic picture of what has happened culturally in our civilization.

Jerrold, Toynbee and their readers, I am sure, are more interested in the future than in the past. Speculation about the future of Christianity will go astray if one does not keep in mind the distinction between the Church as the divinely founded institution and the Church as historically realized. Toynbee's thesis about the relation between a religion and a culture is considerably modified from the position maintained in his first six volumes. He now holds with Dawson and others that a culture comes out of a religion. He expects some sort of synthetic religion (compounded of Christianity, Bhuddism, Islamism and other existent religions) to be the religion of a future world civilization.

I see no real dichotomy between Toynbee's speculation and the age-old practice of the Catholic Church to adapt itself to whatever culture exists—as long as the new religion is not a sort of religious cocktail of well-mixed ingredients from several religions, as Toynbee seems to suggest, but genuine Christianity adapted to the various cultures of the world. The first Christians took over pagan temples and appropriated pagan holidays for such Christian feasts as Christmas.

Jerrold's response is certainly more Catholic than Toynbee's challenge—but it is also less Catholic. Toynbee denies the central, unique fact of all history—that God lived as a man and redeemed fallen mankind. But it is the small mind or the Catholic who has lost his temper that rejects Toynbee *in toto* because he is wrong on this central point. It is the hasty apologist rather than the good historian who offers to justify imperialism or who insists that the West was not aggressive in the nineteenth century.

One last reflection on *The Lie About the West* should be made here. A justification for a frontal attack on Toynbee's thesis in his Reith Lectures would seem to lie in what effect Toynbee's writing might have on the West. Jerrold (and many others) believe Toynbee's cultural and religious relativism will soften up the Western will to resist and will constitute, in effect, a kind of appeasement. Perhaps this is true. Jerrold's little book reveals another danger, the danger of Catholics again adopting the seige mentality of defending everything within the fortress, iniquity as well as virtue.

To disapprove of Jerrold's response to Toynbee's challenge is not to endorse Toynbee's thesis. It is only to warn that defenders of the West and especially of the Church be careful not to fall into the other extreme of identifying in simple fashion the Faith and the West. Much better answers to Toynbee are found in the various works of Christopher Dawson on religion and culture, and the recent lectures of Carlton J. H. Hayes on Christianity and Western Civilization.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

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*Lord Acton, A Study in Conscience and Politics*, by Gertrude Himmelfarb.  
Chicago. U. of Chicago Press. 1952. pp. x, 260. \$3.75.

The last five years have witnessed a renaissance in Acton studies, dormant since the turn of the present century. In general, Acton studies, old

and new, have tended to content themselves with collecting his essays, lectures and correspondence. However, three notable exceptions should be listed: Ulrich Noach's pioneer analysis, *Politik Als Sicherung der Freiheit* (Frankfurt am Main: 1947); G. E. Fasnacht's excellent, *Acton's Political Philosophy* (London: 1952) and the work reviewed here.

Miss Himmelfarb is virtually alone in the nascent American study of Acton. Her first work, a collection of his essays, was entitled *Lord Acton, Essays on Freedom and Power*, (Boston: 1949), and a volume with whose introduction this reviewer is in disagreement. Her present work comes closer to the true Acton and must be regarded as essential reading for all scholars who know and admire Lord Acton.

The author has not written a conventional biography of a man. She has written rather a biography of Acton and his ideas—the modern trend to the study of the history of ideas—and perhaps this is the proper approach to any study of this illustrious Victorian figure. The only traditional biography of Acton was the rather unsuccessful work by Bishop David Mathew, *Acton, The Formative Years* (London: 1946). He was hampered by a failure to study the Acton material, in any detail at least, in the Cambridge University library; such is not true in the case of this most recent edition to our understanding of Lord Acton.

Dr. Himmelfarb covers the traditional areas of all Acton studies: his international heritage; the youthful study abroad and his close association with Döllinger; Acton's difficulties in assisting and then launching 'liberal' Catholic periodicals; the famous conflict over the Vatican Council; his career as the first Catholic Regius Professor of History at Cambridge University since the time of Queen Elizabeth I; and finally a somewhat questionable analysis of Acton's liberalism and Catholicism.

This is a commendable work, demonstrating evidence of sound thought and research. It is difficult, at times for the author as it is with all people who study Acton, to understand and comprehend the seemingly irreconcilable position which he took as a Catholic, a historian and a liberal. In religion he held firmly to the theological tenets of his faith, though he subjected many of the historical aspects of Catholicism to severe scrutiny and criticism. Too many of the students of Acton have juxtaposed incorrectly his Catholicism and his liberalism.

Acton has unfortunately fallen prey to the various attacks with the result that Catholics have either echoed false charges or else, as in the case of Cardinal Gasquet [*Lord Acton and His Circle* (London: 1906)], have edited and analyzed the man in a manner unfair to him and embarrassing to his most ardent admirers. For Acton must be accounted a place among the foremost of the modern historians, not for what he wrote, but for his great and perceptive analysis of the function of history and the historian. He, as with many great men years after their death, is being properly recognized and partially understood. That he should have so long lingered in the darkness of oblivion is an unfortunate commentary on the timidity of Catholics and the ignorance of other historians.

The full stature of Acton will never be known until all of his correspondence, especially the Acton-Döllinger phase, has been released for the critical eye of the historian. Working with the available tools, those who study Acton might begin by pondering his words.

Our church stands, and our faith should stand, not on the virtues of

men, but on the surer ground of an institution and a guidance that are divine. Therefore I rest unshaken in the belief that nothing which the inmost depths of history shall disclose in time to come can ever bring to Catholics just cause of shame or fear. I should dishonour and betray the Church if I entertained a suspicion that the evidences of religion could be weakened or the authority of Councils sapped by a knowledge of the facts with which I have been dealing, or of others which are not less grievous or less certain because they remain untold.

Clarence L. Hohl, Jr., Saint Louis University.

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*Tudor England*, by David Harrison. London. Cassell and Company, Ltd. 1953. Two vols. in one. pp. xv, 172; xiii, 204. \$14.00.

When he describes this as the "Tudor section" of a "text-book," Mr. Harrison attaches to the word a meaning different from the one American readers understand. Englishmen refer to solid secondary works, even those written primarily for scholars, as "text-books." Perhaps the use of the word does not merit special attention from a reviewer, but I think it justifies an effort to describe the book fully in order to allay doubts concerning Mr. Harrison's purposes. He has set out to write a large scale History of England combining a "factual narrative" with footnotes and illustrations. This task he has well begun in a handsome, almost de luxe, oversize volume, with double columns of text, "over 230 illustrations" (according to the for once modest jacket blurb), and a generous supply of informative footnotes. The illustrations, a large proportion of which are reproductions of portraits, keep constantly before the reader's eyes those keen faces that tell so much about the characters of the leading personages of the Tudor age. Since the publisher seems to have had no qualms about production costs, the only apparent reason for grouping the notes at the ends of the chapters was to enable the "general reader" to ignore them. This decision was unfortunate, for the size of the book makes it unhandy to thumb back and forth from text to notes, and the notes contain so much information that the "general reader" should not be discouraged from reading them. The scholar will be impressed by the notes because they identify Mr. Harrison's sources as primary printed materials, the *Calendars of State Papers* or the works of John Strype, as well as the better secondary studies. The sources also justify rejection of the American connotation of the word "text-book," for this volume was not, like so many texts that we know, merely compiled from a few others.

*Tudor England* is a fulsome "factual narrative." Perhaps it contains too many facts in proportion to the space devoted to interpretation or explanation. This may be the reason one completes the book feeling that he has not encountered much that is new, original, challenging, or provocative. The overall treatment of the age is orthodox. Mr. Harrison properly devotes much attention to political and religious history, and to foreign relations, and too little, I think, to constitutional, legal, and administrative history. There is enough of social, economic, and maritime history to satisfy me, but then I am not one who prefers to stress these to the neglect of the traditional emphases. In an epilogue Mr. Harrison discusses literature and thought in succinct fashion, and he concludes with an essay on Shakespeare that is too much a piece of literary criticism and too little a historical treatment.

If the book is strong in facts and short on interpretation, it does contain preferences and judgments expressed without animus. Mr. Harrison approves of the break from Rome while criticizing certain deeds of Henry VIII, such as the "Great Pillage" of the monasteries. He describes sympathetically the monastic ideal. He approves of the Elizabethan settlement while speaking severely of aspects of Puritanism. His applause leads into a rather sentimental suggestion that the Anglican Church might provide the basis for the reunion of Christendom. More than once he speaks of one great result of the Reformation, the achievement of the "omnicompetence of the state." I should have liked to read more from Mr. Harrison on that subject.

Carl B. Cone, University of Kentucky.

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*The Legacy of Luther. Martin Luther and the Reformation in the Estimation of the German Lutherans from Luther's Death to the Beginning of the Age of Goethe*, by E. W. Zeeden. Newman Press. Westminster, Maryland. 1954. pp. xiii, 221. \$3.50.

This is a novel book on Martin Luther. Instead of dealing with the events of Luther's career, his religious experiences and their dogmatic definition, or with the immediate crisis they occasioned when first promulgated, Professor Zeeden describes the various interpretations which Luther's German followers have held of their leader, from the beginning to about 1800. The author discusses the opinions of as many as thirty persons prominent in the history of Germany and of its thought, beginning with Melanchthon, Luther's contemporary, and ending with Johann Georg Hamann (d. 1788), the herald of the Romantic Movement. The book is limited to the ideas held by German Lutherans, and records nothing about the thought of Sacramentarians, Zwinglians, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Anglicans, or Socinians, or subsequent sectarian views on Luther. And of course it also excludes the opinions of Dutch and Scandinavian Lutheran views of Luther.

Luther broke not only with traditional Catholic teaching, but also with mediaeval practices of Catholic piety thereby precipitating, without realizing it, a major crisis in the history of the western world. Zeeden perhaps would have helped his readers understand his theme better had he set forth briefly the basic essentials of Luther's position. For Luther's religious experiences and his statements of them are not easy to evaluate; the subjective and personal elements are evident at every hand. Justification by a trusting faith (*sola fides*), a faith derived only from Scripture (*sola scriptura*) constituted the basis from which Luther proceeded. Depravity in the sinner which was considered to be total rendered all good works and all good intentions valueless as aids in the quest of salvation. This salvation was in no wise earned; it was imputed. This theology was a pure fideism. Philosophical thought was to be repudiated. Aristotle and his mediaeval successors were to be cast aside. Luther's doctrine was essentially christological and soteriological, secondarily theological. Clearly, these ideas reveal no systematic theologian. Nevertheless Luther bore marks of the influences under which he had lived before 1512. So he retained the Real Presence, something which linked him with Catholic tradition and at the same time dug an impassable chasm between him and the Zwinglians, the Anabaptists, and the Calvinists.

To show how these positions were regarded by Luther's followers and how each of them was developed during the three centuries following his death would have required a longer treatise than the present one under review. (The reader should bear in mind that this volume is a translation and an abridgment of the first of Professor Zeeden's two volume *Luther im Urteil des deutschen Lutherthums* (Freiburg, 1950). Nor should the reader fail to note that the second volume of the German original contains an extensive collection of extracts from the works of the writers quoted in the first volume. This selection is of immense value for the student of the history of ideas).

It seems desirable to point out that an appeal to authority was especially necessary in order to support Luther's unsystematic doctrine; and hence his appeal to Scripture, not to the Church which he regarded as Antichrist. This fact is implied by Professor Zeeden even though he limits his observations to two of the central points of Luther's teaching—salvation by a trusting faith kindled by a free and conscientious reading of God's Word which henceforth possessed unique and ultimate authority.

Professor Zeeden shows that what Luther thought of himself and his mission and what his followers thought of him are two very different things. Although they might admire him, their ideas really were drawn from the philosophic currents of the time. Sometimes they can scarcely be regarded as Lutheran. The reformer had no thought that anyone honestly reading Scripture would have any interpretation other than his. After he passed from this earth his zealous followers made the content of his teaching the very norm of Lutheran faith, it being held to be identical with Biblical teaching. They painted the mediaeval church in darkest colors. Matthias Flacius Illyricus (d. 1575), author of the *Magdeburg Centuries* elevated this idea into an all-guiding historical principle. The Pietists (whose great figure Spener died in 1715), stressing especially the acquisition of an all-guiding inner piety, chose to stress the Bible and reduced Luther to the status of an ordinary mortal even though they especially admired him as a man of God. This idea was influential during the burgeoning *Aufklärung*.

The apostles of the Enlightenment in Germany produced a new Luther, one who freed men from the shackles of tyrannical mediaeval forms, struck a blow at the might of an oppressive church, and so helped advance the power of the state, a thought dear to rationalists of the time, for example, Frederick the Great. These ideas were well expressed by the historian Möser (d. 1794) who argued that the great progress in trade following the discovery of America and the tapping of the wealth of Asia was possible only because Luther was the cause of the dissolution of 4000 monasteries thereby liberating millions who henceforth could labor at increasing the world's material welfare!

The period known as the Romantic Movement, initiated particularly by Hamann had a more appreciative conception of Luther. He remained the hero of freedom. This was a time when men were poetically optimistic. They were charmed with the idea that man's natural qualities, if allowed to develop untrammeled, would speedily bring a dawn of human perfection in all spheres of activity. The idea of progress triumphed. In all this Luther, it was thought, had a vital part. To men like Hamann and Herder (d. 1803) Luther became a historical guidepost for progress. This, we may

note, was a pregnant conception during the past century and is still echoed from many a lecture platform.

In conclusion, it is to be stated that this scholarly book will long remain a contribution to be read by all students of the rise and character of Protestantism. It also raises the question of how and by what philosophy we can evaluate great cultural movements which are so generally the product of human contingency.

Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington.

*Tudor Prelates and Politics, 1536-1558*, by Lacey Baldwin Smith. Princeton Studies in History, Volume 8. Princeton University Press. 1953. pp. viii, 332. \$5.00.

This volume is an attempt to explain the position of the politically active hierarchy of England during the crucial years between the suppression of the lesser monasteries and the accession of Elizabeth I. Historians of the Protestant Revolt in England have often sought an answer to the question: why did the majority of the Catholic hierarchy submit to the wishes of Henry VIII? The author, who refers to this majority as "the conservatives" explains that "it was Catholic humanism, Catholic learning and Catholic legal training which made the divorce and the breach with Rome possible. . ." (p. 4).

Subsequently, as this work points out, these same conservatives were to oppose, in the main, the radical changes which developed in the Anglican Church after the death of "The Defender of the Faith." Prof. Smith maintains throughout that these men were trained in administration and statesmanship and only secondarily in ecclesiastical matters. This training, and herein lies the author's thesis, made these conservatives adapt themselves to the changing religious environment in order to find a *modus vivendi* amidst the religious struggle. Their desire for "reform" was balanced by their fear of the social dangers attendant upon such "reform". (p. 158).

Much stress is placed on the conservatives' background which conditioned these men, ultimately led to their failure to find a satisfactory "programme" and finally to their downfall. Intelligent men have always wondered about the fundamental tenets of their faith. This was particularly true in the pre-Trentine era of Catholicism. Confusion about Catholic dogma existed, and well meaning, conscientious churchmen made the mistake of accepting some or all of the beliefs of the "reformed" faiths. This is tragic testimony to their faith, their lack of sound theological training, and in England at least, to the effectiveness of Henry's machinery of coercion.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to accept Mr. Baldwin's premise "[that] the problem of resolving the Catholic creed into an accurate yet universally accepted dogma . . . was . . . precarious for the men of the sixteenth century." (p. 132). Catholicism was and is universal, and the fact that some chose to ignore it, was and is a problem between them and their Creator.

Or to say that before Trent "there was no sure rock of Catholic interpretation on which to build their faith . . ." (p. 133) belies a comparison of the contents of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent as measured against the fifteen century development of Catholic dogma before 1563.

It is doubtful, too, if More, Fisher, the Carthusians and the martyrs of Tyburn would accept the author's evaluation of Henry VIII: "Whatever his crimes may have been before the throne of heaven, on earth the King had won the devotion of both the divine and the lawyer. For all his greed and cruelty, for all his egotism and lust, the King's personal charm and magnetism had produced an allegiance and loyalty which transcended the prick of religious conscience." For the Catholic martyrs professed political loyalty to this man, but they refused to change their religion, to suit his ambitions for a western Caesaro-papism.

These criticisms of parts of this work are not made in any carping manner. The author's volume is an excellent and objective study of a hypersensitive era; it does much to advance our knowledge of a crucial episode in the history of the Church and England.

Clarence L. Hohl, Saint Louis University.

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*The Great War for Empire—the Culmination 1760-1763*, by Lawrence Henry Gibson. Alfred Knopf. New York. 1954. pp. 394. \$7.50.

This is the eighth volume in Mr. Gibson's history of *The British Empire before the American Revolution*. Like the preceding volumes it is excellently done, detailed, factual, comprehensive and very readable. Historians, particularly those interested in early American history, will find it interesting, valuable and extremely worthwhile reading, although it may be doubted that the so called "general reader" will find it as interesting and appealing as the publishers indicate. As the sub-title suggests this volume deals with the last three years of the nine-year struggle between France and Great Britain which of course ends in a great victory for the British. The point of view is one which few will question, namely that this was a world wide struggle for empire and not merely a localized colonial struggle in North America called the French and Indian War; and secondly that the results of this conflict were "permanent and profound". Mr. Gibson implies that American text book writers are generally ignorant of the broader aspects of this conflict and in their texts incorrectly treat it as a local colonial war. It would seem to this reviewer, however, that those writing American history texts are justified in emphasizing the American phase of this great war, and that such emphasis does not mean ignorance of or neglect of the world wide nature of this conflict. It means only that they recognize the limitations of time and space.

Edward J. Maguire, Saint Louis University.

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*The Irish Catholic Confederacy and The Puritan Revolution*, by Thomas L. Coonan. Columbia University Press. New York, and Clonmara & Reynolds Ltd. Dublin. 1954. xii 402 pp. \$6.00.

Father Coonan's book for a long time will undoubtedly be a standard reference for the study of the crucial decade of Irish history between 1640 and 1650. It is also something more than a reference work. In the skillful construction of an intricate narrative the author has brought the dead past to life, and his pages are searing reflections of the awful vitality of an enormous tragedy. Thus the merit of the book is two-fold: as historical research it is as solidly respectable as any dry-as-dust tome standing

on the shelves, and as a literary creation it shows all the sweeping verve that inspires a best-seller like *Gone With the Wind*.

For this reviewer, a political scientist rather than historian, the appealing merit of the book is the competent synthesis of the political and legal elements which are lavishly detailed in the writing. Poynings' Law, a thorn in the Irish side since the fifteenth century, effectively prevented the maturing of Irish political institutions at an equal pace with those in the other kingdom. This result was compounded by the abysmal misunderstanding by the English of the native *brehon* law as well as by the division of the populace into several groups, Old Irish, Anglo-Irish, and later on, the Ulster Scots. Yet in spite of these disadvantages, when the Catholic Confederation assembled at Kilkenny in 1642, a spirit of most advanced constitutionalism pervaded the assembly. A doctrine of ministerial responsibility was formulated. By early 1643 the *Model of Civil Government* had become the written constitution. The author notes the parallels between these constitutionalists and the American revolutionists of a century later; and, citing in his support Professor McIlwain, shows how the Irish action inspired the Americans.

Unfortunately the theory of constitutional government is one thing and the practice is another. In Ireland practice had scant chance to develop because too many persons and forces contended to keep the Irish from political and military unity. The besieged King Charles I, to whom all Irish, Catholic and Protestant, "mere Irish" and Anglo-Irish, professed loyalty, did not deal frankly with his loyal subjects. He used the situation as a pawn in his game with the English and Scots. In Ireland the result was to divide the factions. Papal intervention in 1645 brought Archbishop Rinuccini to Ireland as nuncio. Rivalry between him and Charles' viceroy Ormond, led to the bitter religious and political factionalism between nuncioists and Ormondist. This division rent both laity and clergy, including the hierarchy. Throughout the story of these struggles towers the epic figure of the head of the clan O'Neill, Owen Roe. It is obvious that this selfless and dedicated leader of a cause, beset with the intrigues of the hosts of self-serving little men in the camps of both friend and foe, is Father Coonan's real hero, and few readers will fail to share his enthusiasm.

While nuncioists and Ormondist fought in Ireland, Cromwell advanced to supremacy in England. After the execution of the king, the remaining battle was to be between the Irish Catholics and English Puritans. Everyone knows the outcome of that gruesome affair. It could hardly have been different in the light of the badly split condition of the Irish and the Puritan unity.

From the Puritan side the defense of the excesses of the Cromwell expedition is always based on the "popish massacre" of 1641. In this connection (as in many others) the author has done a brilliant job in refuting the Puritan claims. There is a particularly penetrating criticism of Cromwell's own use of the cliche on page 294, which clearly demonstrates the ability of the author in the realm of political judgment.

There will undoubtedly be criticism of the author to the effect that he has merely perpetuated the eternal vice of all Irishmen, in Ireland and abroad; namely that no Irishman will let the past lie decently dead, that he always seeks to bring it alive again in all its wounds. But it is no adequate

refutation of Father Coonan's expertly developed thesis merely to complain that unpleasant and unsightly things should be kept under cover or locked in the closet. For the record contains much more than these. If it contains bloodshed, treason and betrayal, it also shows heroism, wisdom and devotion to principle. Above all it is an essential part of the political history of modern Europe which should not go ignored.

John J. Kennedy, Notre Dame.

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*Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England*, by Fritz Caspari. The University of Chicago Press. 1954. pp. 293. \$6.50.

In this study of the effect of humanism on the ideals and social order of sixteenth-century England, Professor Fritz Caspari has traced the development of humanism in the thought, education, and social order from Henry VII's reign to the end of Elizabeth's. During this period the chivalric knight was replaced by the orator; the aristocracy of the pen displaced the sword; and there was an amalgamation of what was left of the chivalrous tradition with the human norm of antiquity. How this amalgamation proceeded and was accomplished is the chief concern of Professor Caspari.

First he shows how, even while preaching the older hierarchical order into which a man was born with a permanently fixed place, England of the sixteenth century experienced considerable social mobility. The newly established Tudors needed a group of administrators, a group of educated men rather than a group of fighting men, and they soon made it possible and profitable for a man to become a "gentleman" through education rather than through prowess on the field of battle. Thus there was a need for the humanists' "new learning" if merchants, tradesmen, lawyers, landed gentry, and even nobility were to get ahead in the changing Tudor social organization.

Next Professor Caspari analyzes Erasmus' ideas on politics and education and the relation he established between them. The key to understanding Erasmus' position, Caspari claims, is his ideal of humanity. This is covered in a long and careful explication of the *Institutio Principis Christiani*.

From Erasmus Professor Caspari turns to his English friends who took up and developed his ideas. Sir Thomas More applied the humanistic ideals to his ideal commonwealth described in *Utopia* and thus helped to disseminate them. And he advocated for England the type of education described in his *Utopia* and introduced in his own home. Education was to be a useful thing and to be obtained for a very practical reason.

From Erasmus and More, the outstanding founders of the "new learning" in England, Caspari turns to More's friend Sir Thomas Elyot, the great popularizer. Through his *Governour* he established the humanistic ideal of what the ruler's education should be and what kind of man he should be. Next Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset* with its humanistic description of the good "commyn wele" and suggestions for bringing it about is treated.

The final three chapters are concerned with tracing "Humanism and the Rise of the Gentry", and analyses of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The generations preceding Sidney and Spenser saw the laying of the foundations of the humanistic ideal, and in

the *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene* we behold the poetic imaginations of their authors fired by the philosophical treatises of the earlier generations.

Professor Caspari's work represents a very close reading and explication of the chief writings of the individuals whom he has chosen to treat. His conclusions do not suggest any especially new or different interpretation of the growth of humanism in England, but they do emphasize the utilitarian aspect of the humanistic educational theories. The humanists were not advocating knowledge as its own end. Their approach was eminently practical and adapted to the needs of their times. This Professor Caspari makes evident time and time again.

In the main, Caspari has touched only lightly upon the religious aspects of his subject and has dealt primarily with the social and educational aspects of humanism and the age. In his section on Erasmus he touches briefly upon that great man's insistence that only the aid of *humanitas* could save Christian civilization. He speaks of Erasmus' attempt "to reconcile and tie together the *sacrae* and *humanae litterae*," and he indicates Erasmus' "conviction that humanistic studies must of necessity lead to Christian *pietas*, just as ancient philosophy led to the Christian religion and was crowned by the gospel." (p. 38). One wishes that he had done more with this aspect of the subject. The sixteenth-century was passionately concerned with the connection between the new learning and the Christian religion and so were Erasmus, More, Starkey, Elyot, and Spenser. In so far as he has gone Professor Caspari has done an excellent job, but this reviewer wishes that he had gone a little farther.

The work is very thoroughly documented and the notes cover the full range of the related literature on the subject. I wonder about the absence of John J. Mangan's *Life, Character, and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam* (N. Y., 1927), but I am grateful for the otherwise complete survey that Professor Caspari has given the field. The work is a very important aid for the historian, political scientist, and literary scholar concerned with English humanism.

William C. McAvoy, Saint Louis University.

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*The Reformation in England*, by Philip Hughes. Volume II: *Religio Depopulata*. New York. MacMillan. 1954. pp. 366. \$7.50.

In a volume that bears every mark of the "discipline that alone gives historical writing any claim to men's attention," Father Hughes analyzes the evolving character of the Ecclesia Anglicana from the execution of Thomas Cromwell to the death of Mary Tudor. No other period of English history can so try the judiciousness, the coolness, and the nerves of the historian. If authentic history is to be written, everything depends on the true balance in which each fragment of all the evidence is weighed. In the method and in the manner of Father Hughes is such an instrument.

This is the history of a church fragmented: no longer one; its unity at any given time no more than the unity of the person or persons controlling it. Its dogma changes as one and then another of the parties to its fragmentation is able to outmanoeuvre the other. The tension between the "Conservatives," who would hold the church to as much orthodoxy as was consonant with the doctrinal revolution of the royal supremacy, and the "Progressives," who had made the Henrican church heterodox, who would in Edward's reign have "full freedom to uproot and to efface the thousand-

year-old beliefs of the English," is minutely assessed by Father Hughes. He submits to scrutiny which exactly reveals their revolutionary theological implications the documents, statutory, dogmatic, homiletic, and liturgical, of the two reigns. Here lies the supreme value of the first half of his book: the tracing through the primary sources of the sometimes halting but inexorable protestantizing of the English church.

Personalities and politics play their part, but incidentally: a church, however much it lies open to the will of those who rule it, has its own dynamism, and it is the church, acted upon to be sure, but acting also that Father Huges describes. By the end of Edward's reign, that church, at first alienating its people from traditional dogma without appearing to do so (the Pilgrimage of Grace, for example, has no *ex professo* dogmatic motivation), is so openly heretical in the eyes of its people, conservative and radical alike, that it must move against both. The government in 1549 must suppress risings in the west country of simple men whose grievances are wholly religious. Demanding the restoration of the Mass and of "all other ancient old ceremonies used heretofore, by our mother the holy church," the rebels show not merely an astounding conservatism—for they demand the restoration of Latin in all services and the suppression of the English bible—but a genuine and precise understanding of transubstantiation, which leads them utterly to reject the denial of the real presence implicit at this time in the Edwardian church.

As one faction turned away from the radicalism of the church, so others revolted against what to them was its legislated conservatism: the sects multiply and arouse the horror even of John Hooper; and Cranmer in 1553 in the never-enacted *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* proposed, as the first of the new canon laws, the death penalty for religious dissent. In the protestantizing of the body of the Anglicans lay the first cause of that factionalism which was to reach its bloody climax in the Puritan revolution.

A treatment of the Marian restoration tests the mettle and the impartiality of any historian. Here Father Hughes performs signal work of elucidation and revaluation. He shows that as early as August 5, 1553, antecedent either to English or to continental imperial pressure, the pope decided not to ask restitution of the monastic lands as a condition of reconciliation. In his analysis of the steps leading to the lifting, by the agency of Cardinal Pole, of the excommunication imposed on the whole English nation by reason of its original heresy, and of the manner in which the condonation of the lay expropriation of monastic lands was administered by him, Father Hughes makes clear once for all that neither pope nor cardinal bargained with the expropriators for the souls and allegiance of the English. The "absolution of England" removed not the sins of the excommunicated but the judicial sentence under which they lay, making it possible for those who wished forgiveness of sin to seek it in the sacrament of penance. "In the interval between the reconciliation and the passing of the statute that gave it effect in law, Pole did all he could to recover something for the Church. When he found this impossible and that he must really use his powers of condonation, he did it in such a way . . . that all might see clearly that what he gave was a mere permission granted *ob duritiam cordis*, and although pressed, more than once, to add the clause, *quod absque aliquo conscientiae scrupulo possent huiusmodi bona retinere*, he steadfastly refused."

When the excommunication had been lifted and condonation effected, what measures were taken to reconstruct the officially penitent church? The decrees of the episcopal synod of 1555-56 offered an incomplete scheme, but one which was zealous, informed, realist, and aware that the whole church was passing into a new age: in brief, a scheme given shape by the mind of one of the first of the constructive reformers, Reginald Pole. It was destined never to be put to its real task: the reinstruction of the whole nation in the fundamentals of the faith. Instead, out of their time and situation, England's medieval heresy laws were revived, and so misapplied that Father Hughes pronounces the management of the Marian persecutions a last manifestation of late medieval spiritual sickness.

Although the laws were the wrong laws, the sixteenth century mind, of whatever religious persuasion, had no humanitarian inhibitions about the criminal guilt of the heretic. His obdurate persistence in error in the face of orthodox persuasion made him legally a felon; and in England all but two felonies were capital crimes. Nor, Father Hughes thinks, can the number—273—of the executions for heresy, or their manner, alone account for the anti-Catholicism of succeeding generations. In order to match that proportion of executed criminals to population, presentday England would have to execute some 12,000 criminals annually. And death by burning was the punishment for crimes other than heresy, invariably so for a wife's murder of her husband.

Central to Father Hughes' treatment of the persecutions is his critical study of that flaming source work, the *Book of Martyrs*. This work he aptly characterizes as the Protestant equivalent of the Golden Legend, with all the vices of the old hagiography. Accepting Foxe's account as nevertheless substantially true—a concession that of itself lifts Father Hughes' work above the climate of partisanship—he proceeds to show on the basis of statistics supplied by Foxe that the executions centered in Essex and Kent, where for years past had flourished sects reprobated both by Protestant and Catholic orthodoxy. He asks if it is a coincidence that for these couples Foxe chronicles little but the names of most of the victims. Was Foxe really ignorant of the beliefs for which they died, or did he choose to suppress what, if known, would have revolted Protestant as well as Catholic?

After he has shown that contrary to all past practice, proceedings against heretics were first instituted by civil authorities at the village level, and that only then were the accused sent for episcopal correction and, if that failed, for condemnation, Father Hughes indicts the whole movement.

In view of the heretical past of the episcopal judges and their own part in propagating heresy, in view of the confusion in the minds of ordinary men after twenty years' exposure to shifting doctrine, in view of the fact that 1547 instead of 1534 was taken as the date when Englishmen had first been laid open to the danger of heresy, can many of the victims, he asks, be said to have been formal heretics at all? England was a nation in the mass neither pro-pope nor pro-Protestant: "Such a mass . . . is only Catholic by a sort of personal preference, a kind of private judgment; it is Catholic in its own way, and it is prepared to defend its Catholicism and to resist the new religion in its own way, and not as a part of the Catholic Church, in full, quasi-instinctive, obedient acceptance of the Church's

directions." It was such a mass that the dynamism of the Henrican and Edwardian churches had produced.

The restoration of externals instead of fundamentals, persecution instead of evangelization, a severity devised for other times and other situations could only have terrible consequences. "What happened in England in these years of Mary's reign was not, in fact, the repression by a Catholic government of heresy invading a Catholic country, but the repression of heresy by Catholic politiques in a country where heresy has lately been fully established, a country that is already in great part indifferent to religion: and herein . . . lies the greatest scandal of the business, and the ultimate reason why it was so easy to exploit it against Catholics in the generation that followed, and to root in it so powerful an anti-Catholic tradition." Thus reads Father Hughes' final judgment of the Marian failure.

This is a rich, strong book: in judgment, in scholarship; in evidence gathered, in controversy coolly assessed; in presentation, in style.

Marie Neville, Loyola, Chicago.

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*How Strong Is Russia? A Geographic Appraisal*, by George B. Cressey. Syracuse. Syracuse University Press. 1954. pp. 146. \$3.00.

This small and thoroughly readable book is written by an expert on Soviet Russia and the Far East. And although Doctor Cressey is a professional geographer, his book will appeal to the layman as well as the geographer.

The book is noted for its clarity, conciseness and brevity of informative material throughout. There are numerous well chosen illustrations and adequate maps.

Notably strong points for special comment are the brief but exceptional comparisons of the United States and Russia whenever an occasion presents itself; the Soviet attempt to challenge nature; shortcomings of attempted Arctic agriculture; Sino-Russian relations; functions of Soviet cities (although much space in a small book is devoted to Moscow); and the projects under way during the present Five Year Plan.

The author cautions that statistics are not too reliable because of Iron Curtain secrecy, but states that Soviet production is about fifty years behind that of the United States. He further states that Russia is strong, but that it is a mistake to think that she has the resources necessary for world conquest. As to resources necessary for world power, at best he would grade her B+, or possible A-, as compared with an A+ for the United States.

Doctor Cressey discounts the validity of Mackinder's Heartland Theory and compares the Heartland to a castle surrounded by unfriendly forces free to move about or to roam at will. "Who," he asks, "would want to live in a besieged castle?"

Because the book is well written, and is within the price range of the conservative book buyer, and since it provides interesting and reliable information, the reviewer recommends it highly. Americans who "lack time" for voluminous reading should read it in order to learn much of the Russian people, the geography of their country, and of the elements of strength and weakness in this giant Soviet republic.

John W. Conoyer, Saint Louis University.

*Pio Nono, Creator of the Modern Papacy*, by E. E. Y. Hales. New York. P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. pp. 352. \$4.00.

This is the first full-length study on Pope Pius IX to appear in English in this century. Such a study was sorely needed because most information on Pius IX filtered into American and English minds through the medium of Whig and Liberal historians. These enthusiastic analysts of the *Risorgimento* and the unification of Italy under Cavour presented a caricature of the pope as a blind opponent of all reform and progress, as an authoritarian opponent of intellectual life, the man whose stubbornness brought his church to the last stand from which it could never recover. Catholic historians preferred to forget Pius IX and to write about Leo XIII because the latter seemed more in tune with the times and was a better figure to present to the non-Catholic world.

The result is that the long papacy of Pius IX (1846-1878) is not understood by Americans as the important period in which the modern papacy is created and the way is prepared for the accomplishments of the popes in the last 75 years. In sympathetic and scholarly fashion Mr. Hales gives us a thorough study of the important events of Pius IX's pontificate: 1) his liberal reforms before 1848; 2) his flight from Rome and his return in 1850; 3) the declaration of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; 4) the Syllabus of Errors; 5) the Vatican Council; 6) the withdrawal to the Vatican, where the popes remained voluntary prisoners until the Lateran Treaty of 1929.

The conclusion of this study is, in the author's words, that Pius IX will be remembered in history "as the most important opponent of the extravagant claims, political and ideological, of the nineteenth-century progressives, as the most obstinate and influential of those who denied the infallibility of progress, the moral authority of majorities, and the omnipotence of the State." Students of both church history and the general history of the nineteenth century will find that this book fills a vacuum in English-written historical literature.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

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*The Meaning of Nationalism*, by Louis L. Snyder. New Brunswick. Rutgers University Press. 1954. pp. xv, 208. \$4.50.

Within a relatively brief period of time a mountain of literature on nationalism has accumulated. Professor Hayes and his seminar students have turned out many volumes. So has Hans Kohn and Friedrich Meinecke. Volumes have poured off the presses on racialism, economic nationalism, self-determination, social and political nationalism to name a few areas of investigation. The subject has been exploited, to use the term loosely, by any number of disciplines. Louis Snyder has attempted to bring some sort of order out of the seeming chaos. As he puts it: "It is the purpose of this book to present an appraisal from a multidisciplinary point of view of the meaning of nationalism." In his conclusion he essays a multidisciplinary definition: ". . . nationalism, a product of political, economic, social, and intellectual factors at a certain stage in history, is a condition of mind, feeling or sentiment of a group of people living in a well-defined geographical area, speaking a common language, possessing a literature in which the aspirations of the nation have been expressed, attached to com-

mon traditions and common customs, venerating its own heroes, and, in some cases, having a common religion." Snyder makes no pretensions that this is the last word. He immediately goes on to say that there are exceptions. In any case he has had the temerity to attack the problem. From this basic work on the meaning of nationalism should come many related studies.

The contribution that Snyder has made to the study of nationalism is indeed great. For the first time we have a probing of the various disciplines in an effort to discover their interpretation of nationalism. The fields of history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, geography and anthropology have been explored to obtain their peculiar interpretation of nationalism. One cannot help but believe that the various disciplines see nationalism as they wish to see it; individual writers define nationalism as they wish to define it. A case in point is the definition of the word nation by the various disciplines: geographers dwell on the basic significance of natural center and environment; historians look upon the nation as the population of a sovereign political state, etc.; political scientists regard the nation as the formal organization of one people; philosophers, at times, regard it as a unity of culture; sociologists conceive the nation as one of the largest and most important collectivities in human society; psychologists look at the nation primarily in the light of the behavior of its individuals; psychiatrists are more concerned with the intimacy of the relationships between personality and the social system, etc. (p. 54). Professor Snyder has painstakingly investigated a myriad of areas, he has searched dark corners, he has probed delicately and thoroughly in an effort to define the term not only according to disciplines but also according to areas of study within the various disciplines. As Hans Kohn says in the foreword, Snyder "has written the first introduction to such an interdisciplinary inquiry."

The chapter on the classifications of nationalism will be of great help to those new to the field. The author very clearly and scholarly outlines the historian's concept of the development of nationalism. He then discusses what he prefers to call the "Hayes formula", the "Kohn dichotomy", then on to Handman's classification, the definitions of various national historians, and finally George Orwell's classification.

The merits of the book are almost too numerous to mention. It is well organized and clear in its presentation. If there is any fault to the work it is probably in the degree of preference shown to the Hans Kohn school. This slight fault is completely understandable. The bibliography is intelligently selective.

Donald R. Penn, Georgetown University.

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*A Concise Economic History of Britain from 1750 to Recent Times*, by W.H.B. Court. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1954. pp. viii, 368. \$4.00.

This book truly lives up to its title of being a "concise history" in the very best sense. All the important facets of recent British economic development to World War II are covered; and, although the treatment is brief, the interpretation and generalizations are carefully interlined with factual detail to illustrate the argument.

This volume is a sequel to the late Sir John Clapham's *Concise Economic History of Britain from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1750*. The treatment is divided into two parts. The first part, the "Growth of the Industrial State, 1750-1837," goes into the "great transformation" which takes place during what used to be called the preliminary phase of the Industrial Revolution. The dynamics of population growth, the rise and decline of agriculture, the paths of innovation in mining, manufacturing and transportation, are outlined in a splendid fashion; then the impact of this industrialization upon finance, political relationships and society is traced. The second part, the "Victorian Economy and After, 1837-1939", is obviously setting the background of modern Britain. The economic aspects of Victorian life are portrayed, the problems carefully developed, the origins of the welfare state examined, and the effects of Britain's position of leadership in the world economy for a hundred years upon its own economy explained.

The literature of economic history, both American and European, is being enriched with many such "concise histories". It is a sign of our times that sober evaluations of our past are being made. Professor Court has added a small masterpiece to this literature.

Richard L. Porter, Rockhurst College.

### AMERICAN

*Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy, 1954.* The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. pp. 429. \$4.00.

The latest addition to the Brookings Institution's excellent series of annual reviews of the problems of American foreign policy maintains the high standards achieved by its predecessors.

Aimed primarily for use in colleges and universities, these volumes have proved useful to others as well. They are particularly well adapted to the needs of study and discussion groups.

The technique employed has been to place the authors and the readers in the position of Government officials who, while carrying out their responsibilities in the field of foreign policy, need also to keep in mind the whole range of international relations, the interests and objectives of the United States, and the various domestic and foreign factors that influence American foreign policy. Both authors and readers recognize that the alternative courses of action available to the United States in the solution of a particular problem call for careful consideration.

The 1954 edition opens with a review of the main developments in the foreign relations of the United States during the previous year and then proceeds to trace the pattern of postwar international relations with special reference to the fundamental forces that influenced American action in these fields during this period. The book then looks at the chief foreign policy problems confronting the United States at the opening of 1954. Finally, there is a problem paper on American-Soviet relations as an example of the way in which material is prepared within the Government as a forerunner to policy decisions.

This volume is well-written, clear, and objective. Its value as a reference book to persons in the academic field is patent. The general reader will also find it well worth his while.

Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Mass. Inst. of Technology.

*Fundamentals of Government*, by Henry J. Schmandt and Paul G. Steinbicker. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1954. pp. xii, 507. \$4.50.

Among the ever growing number of textbooks available for the basic course in political science the present text is unique, for it is "frankly based upon the principle that man is a moral being, with not only a natural but also a supernatural end." For that reason the present book supplies a long-needed alternative to the usual, positivistic approach to the study of government and should win wide acceptance from those who share the authors' conviction that the political task properly conceived, is concerned with translating the principles of justice into practice.

Currently there is a great deal of discussion among political scientists as to how best to introduce the undergraduate student to the study of government. The traditional way is by means of a full year's course in American national, state and local government but everywhere there is a growing conviction that such a course is inadequate. Professors Schmandt and Steinbicker suggest as an alternative to the traditional approach a semester's course on the philosophy of government (for which the present text is designed) to be followed by a one-semester survey course in American government. In this way the student can be led from the general to the particular and when he comes to a study of American government will have a philosophical framework of reference with which to understand and evaluate that which he often studies today without any understanding at all of the philosophical problems involved.

After introducing the student to the scope and methodology of political science in which the authors recommend a balance between philosophical and empirical methods, some brief attention is given to the concept and development of natural law. This chapter would have to be supplemented with additional readings for it seems to me that it is basic to much that follows and is presented here in much too summary a form especially for those to whom the concept of natural law is a novel idea. The typical undergraduate comes to our classes convinced that we get our "values", as he has been taught to say, from our social environment and it takes a great deal of argument and evidence to convince him, if we can, that there are universal and absolute standards of right and wrong.

In the next section of the book the authors discuss the origin, nature and purpose of the state, the meaning of sovereignty, the relationship between the state and the individual and the relationship between the state and other associations. In all of these chapters the authors combine an analytical and historical approach to the problems under consideration that is both interesting and lucid. The authors find the vital principle which gives the state its distinct nature "in the unity which results from the collectivity of wills of all these individuals and groups joined together in the pursuit of common objectives." They add that "the more widespread and active the participation in this collective will is and the more the membership is motivated by principles of justice, charity, and a genuine desire for the general welfare, the closer will the state approach perfection." The chapters on the relationship between the individual and the state, and the state and other associations, deal remarkably well with difficult problems. In the discussion of the relationship between State and Church considerable attention is given to the writings of John Courtney Murray and the authors declare that "It seems clear that for both Catholics and non-Catholics, the

efficacy of molding social institutions from within and according to the means available under democratic conditions, is commonly accepted as the best method of combatting the currently pervasive secularism. Such a program demands the full attention of all Catholics; it also calls for their sincere cooperation with all men of good will in every attempt to achieve a greater degree of justice and more practical freedom for all citizens."

The authors turn their attention in the next section of the book to a consideration of the basic forms of government. After defining constitutional government the authors give considerable attention to both the theory and practice of democratic government. Here they introduce comparative materials that make the discussion much more meaningful than it would have been had they confined themselves to the American political system alone. This is also true of the following sections on the structure and branches of government. In these sections the approach resembles that employed so effectively by J. A. Corry and is an approach that is winning more and more approval among political scientists generally. The book concludes with a discussion of international law and organization.

The value of the book is enhanced by a list of questions and problems that are appended to each chapter together with a brief list of additional readings. There is also an appendix containing a list of bibliographical aids and the book is indexed.

For those who share the authors' conviction that "morality alone can furnish the solid foundation upon which a lasting social and political structure can be built" I know of no better introduction to the "fundamentals of government" than the present book.

John H. Hallowell, Duke University.

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*The Battle Cry of Freedom: The New England Emigrant Aid Company in the Kansas Crusade*, by Samuel A. Johnson. Lawrence. University of Kansas Press. 1954. pp. xii, 357. \$5.00.

Throughout the entire range of American history, there have been few topics so confusing and controversial as the story of "Bleeding Kansas"—that is, of the episodes of violence between Northern and Southern sympathizers in the Territory during the troubled years 1855 to 1857. A rapid succession of eight different governors, a vast array of conflicting evidence, and a cloud of obscurity over many events have all combined to make the Kansas question a center of historical doubt and dispute.

One of the most controversial factors in this situation has been the role of the New England Emigrant Aid Company which was chartered by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, February 21, 1855, "for the purpose of directing emigration Westward, and aiding in providing accommodations for the emigrants after arriving at their places of destination, and for other purposes." The "other purposes" are the nub of the controversy. Southerners visualized the company as a vast monied corporation with a capital of \$5,000,000 which was being used to send hired mercenaries and death-dealing Sharps rifles (Beecher's Bibles) to Kansas to terrorize the inhabitants and subvert the legal government. Northerners defended it as a modest enterprise that never did succeed in raising more than \$190,000, which was used for the innocuous purpose of assisting independent emigrants who went to Kansas on their own volition and at their own expense.

to create for themselves by democratic process a new home uncontaminated by slavery.

In later years, other controversies have turned on other questions: Was the company more concerned with land speculation than with freedom? Was the profit-motive primary? And did the Company really send weapons to Kansas?

Historical understanding of the Company has suffered from the fact that it was treated too much from the vantage-point of Kansas. Just as it was long the fallacy of historians to view the Virginia Company of London from the perspective of Jamestown, so it was a mistake to view the Emigrant Aid Company from the perspective of Lawrence, Kansas.

*The Battle Cry of Freedom* by Samuel A. Johnson of the Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, fills the long-standing need for a sound and thorough history of the Massachusetts Company and of the whole emigrant aid movement, involving other minor companies in other states and unofficial activities in Massachusetts. Professor Johnson's study is based upon solid research, including extensive use of the Company's manuscript records and the papers of its major officers. Neither he nor anyone else can provide an interpretation which will be accepted as final, but his findings about the Company are excellent and they give us, for the first time, a coherent and fully-verified history, which includes both the Massachusetts and the Kansas ends of the axis.

Professor Johnson proves with considerable finality, that the basic purpose was to promote emigration by men who would resist slavery in Kansas, and that land-speculation and hopes of profit were extremely minor. He shows that about fifteen parties including a total of 1,372 emigrants were sent out in 1855 and 1856, that virtually all of these intended in good faith to settle (though quite a number changed their minds after experiencing the rigors of Kansas), and that this number was small compared with the number of free-soil emigrants from the Middle West, who, by the way, did not get along well with the New Englanders. He makes it clear that there never was, as the Free Soilers claimed, a complete blockade of Missouri River traffic by the pro-slavery forces. And while demonstrating that the Company did not "officially" ship rifles to Kansas, he shows that the officials, acting in a private capacity, did so, and used the facilities of the Company in distribution. He agrees, therefore, with other historians, that the Company's claim that it sent no weapons is "a distinction without a difference."

All these valuable conclusions are well-supported. They are presented in a context generally favorable toward the Company, and some readers may feel that the treatment of the Massachusetts philanthropists who sponsored John Brown and, wittingly or unwittingly, placed weapons in his hands, is too bland, if not actually indulgent. But no one is likely to question either the validity or the historical value of Professor Johnson's work. Scholars and teachers have reason to thank him for unraveling, with skill and clarity, the tangled story of an organization which played a vital part in the struggle for Kansas.

The University of Kansas Press deserves commendation for presenting the book in an unusually pleasing format.

David M. Potter, Yale University.

*A Treasury of Railroad Folklore*, by B. A. Botkin and Alvin F. Harlow. New York. Crown. 1953. pp. xiv, 530. \$4.00.

The name Botkin and American Folklore have become almost synonymous. In his previous volumes he has given excellent examples of Western, Southern, New England, as well as the first volume of American folklore in general. In most collections the tendency is to skim off the cream in the first volume and then capitalize on what has been left over by publishing particular collections. This has not been the case in the present Folklore series. Each volume has kept up the high standard set in the first *Treasury of American Folklore*. The present volume deals with one of the most fascinating facets of American life, and gives stories, tall tales, ballads, and songs of the American Railroad man. The old classics are all there, and many new varieties. The book is well printed and easy to use, but might have been made handier by a more complete index. References are given for the source of each item—an indication of the thoroughness and painstaking labor that went into the compilation. Even the end sheets add to the flavor by their great displays of railroad monograms. This book is a must for every library, and a handy tool to enliven many a classroom.

E. R. Vollmar, Saint Louis University.

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*Probing Our Past*, by Merle Curti. New York. Harper & Brothers. 1955. pp. 294. \$4.00.

*Probing Our Past* is a collection of eleven articles or addresses by Professor Curti, written or delivered during the past thirty years. All are reprints with one exception. "Prospects for Future Research," the last one in the volume, was read at the AHA meeting of 1949. All, too, are on some aspect of American history, and they have been reprinted as a tribute to the author's presidency of the AHA in 1954. They are also a tribute to the author's wide interest in America's past and to his scholarship. However, the unity between the essays is quite tenuous, although they are offered as studies in historiography, the transmission of ideas, and America's influence abroad.

There are essays on the democratic theme in American historical literature, on Turner, on a great teacher's teacher (Beard's college teacher, James R. Weaver, whose fame rests mainly on introducing Beard to Marx), on Locke as America's philosopher, on Lieber's contribution to American nationalism, on the retreat from reason in the age of science, on the dime novels, on America's reputation overseas prior to the Civil War, on the "Young America" movement of the 1850's, on America at world fairs during the second half of the 19th century, and on the prospects for future research. These prospects will be found, says Curti, in the field of American influences abroad, and he has shown how these prospects can be realized by recently co-authoring *Prelude to Point Four*, a study of American technical missions overseas during the years 1838-1938.

The article on Locke as America's philosopher (and also Curti's favorite philosopher, it would seem) is the longest (pp. 69-118) and the most important contribution. Locke's influence waned after the Revolution, but an examination of what he calls "fugitive material" (academic addresses, election sermons, Fourth of July orations) originating during 1783-1861 points to the continual influence of Locke. Yet, despite the evidence offered,

it hardly supports the conclusion that Locke remained "America's philosopher." And his use of Webster (p. 117) to bolster the evidence is weakened when, in his essay on Lieber (p. 132), he shows that Webster held "that property was the creature of government." Webster had completely forgotten his Locke when he made that statement.

The essay on Turner (pp. 32-53) has been out of print and so historians will be glad to have it conveniently available. Yet one must admit to a disappointment after reading it. We are told (p. 34) that "the point to emphasize today is that the frontier thesis was but one aspect of Turner's work." Many others will be more inclined to say that it is far more important for American historiography to confront the criticism of Hayes, Pierson, Wright and others who contend that the Turner hypothesis has done much harm to American historiography and is not an adequate guide to American development. Turner's reputation as a historian rests on his frontier hypothesis. It is time that a full appraisal of his contribution be given, and Professor Curti, as the current Frederick Jackson Turner professor at Wisconsin, is in a favorable position to do it.

Yet in the text and in the wealth of footnote material in these two and the other essays the students of history will be grateful for the views given and the prospects of future research suggested by Professor Curti. The authors of the dime novels on the West deserve more attention; they appreciated the value of the frontier more than did the historians of their day.

William L. Lucey, Holy Cross College.

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*The Development of Negro Religion*, by Ruby F. Johnston. Philosophical Library, New York. 1952. pp. 202. \$3.00.

In the Preface, written by R.F.J., one reads that this book is recommended "for clarity, facility of expression, and ease of understanding". For my part I found the book neither clear nor easy to understand. Some facility of expression was manifested, but frequently I had not the least idea of what was being expressed. Greater care in the use of words and more respect for the meaning of ordinary words would have improved the book considerably. One often got the impression that the author was trying to convince the reader of the scholarly character of the book by a studied use of big words.

As it now stands, the present title is a mis-nomer. First of all, I question the legitimacy of the use of the expression "Negro Religion". "Religion among Negroes" is understandable; but "Negro Religion" is as meaningless as "White Religion" or "Yellow Religion". In the second place, a development of any kind is hard to find in the book. On the contrary the same attitudes and activities can be found in the early stages of the study that are spoken of in the later stages. Throughout the book the author toys with problems which merit more competent study. Contradictory statements, unproved statements, generalizations and conclusions unjustified by the meager evidence adduced make this book hardly worth your while.

Edw. E. Finn, Saint Louis University.

## CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is intended to be of service to teachers and students of history by presenting a fairly complete list of historical works announced or published since the previous issue of *The Historical Bulletin*. An asterisk denotes a review of the book in this or a later issue. Unfortunately sometimes the price and number of pages were not obtainable.

### MEDIEVAL

Anderson, M. D. *Misericords*. Penguin. pp. 30 and 49 plates. \$0.95. This little book is an economic and helpful aid to teachers of medieval art and history and gives in the lengthy introduction an explanation of the 49 plates which picture the details of various wood-carvings which decorate the small seats or misericords in various choir stalls of English churches. The photographic reproduction in sepia tone is well done.  
Barlow, F., *The Feudal Kingdom of England*. Longmans. pp. 476. \$5.00.  
Baron, H., *Humanistic and Political Literature in Florence and Venice at the Beginnings of the Quattrocento*. Harvard. pp. 233. \$4.75.  
Boak, A. E. R., *A History of Rome to 565 A. D.*, Macmillan. pp. 582. \$6.00.  
Burn-Murdoch, H., *The Development of the Papacy*. Praeger. pp. 432. \$7.50.

Creel, H. G., *The Birth of China*. Ungar. pp. 402. \$7.50.

Easton, S. C., *The Heritage of the West*. Rinehart & Co., pp. 760. \$6.00. This text covers a very large amount of territory by means of a brief two-column write-up of the events of history from "Prehistoric Man" down to the end of the fifteenth century. About half the book is devoted to the period from 400 A. D. to 1500. The illustrations are numerous and well-chosen and the maps are especially to be recommended for their number and clarity. But the insuperable difficulty of attempting to condense so much history in so little space leads to the inevitable distortion through brevity which so plagues the survey-text productions.

Ehler & Marrall, *Church and State Through the Centuries*. Newman Press. pp. 639. \$6.75.

This excellent collection of original documents includes materials on Church-State relations from the time of Trajan (98-117) down to the Czechoslovak Communist Law on Church Affairs (1949). It has some eight sections: Roman Empire and Dark Ages, Gregorian Reformation, Feudal Middle Ages, Conciliar Period and Age of Discovery, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Age of Absolutism and Enlightenment, Age of Liberalism and Capitalism, Age of Socialism and Totalitarianism. There are from eight to twelve documents in each section and each has a well-written introductory note before the translated text.

This is the type of book which all teachers of history or government should have at hand before planning classes and comments on such things as Unam Sanctam or the Donation of Constantine, Trajan's rescript on the Treatment of Christians or Church and State in Hitler's Germany (*Concordat*, 1933).

*English Text of the Ancrene Rule*. Oxford. pp. 87. \$4.00.

Grant, R. M., *The Sword and the Cross*. Macmillan. pp. 144. \$2.75.

Lopez and Raymond, *Medieval Trade in Mediterranean World*. Columbia. pp. 426. \$6.75.

Reppy, Alison, *The Ordinance of William the Conqueror*, (1072). Oceana. pp. 128. \$2.50.

Sherley-Price, Leo. *Bede: A History of the English Church and People*. Penguin Classics. pp. 330. \$0.85. Prefaced by a brief life and evaluation of Bede, this edition and new translation is especially noteworthy because of its low price. For less than a dollar the student and teacher of medieval history can obtain this history which is so important both to an understanding and factual knowledge of early English history.

Warner, R., *The Vengeance of the Gods*. Mich. State Coll. Press. pp. 192. \$3.50.

White, J. M. *Anthropology*. Phil. Libr. pp. 191. \$2.75.

Whitelock, D., *English Historical Documents*. Oxford. pp. 891. \$12.80.

Winlock, H. E., *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*. Harvard. pp. 207. \$7.50.

Woodcock, P. G., *Concise Dictionary of Ancient History*. Phil. Libr. pp. 465. \$6.00.

#### MODERN

Brochado, C., *Fatima in the Light of History*. Bruce. pp. 251. \$4.50.

Brown, A. J., *The Great Inflation*. Oxford. pp. 335. \$4.80.

Challener, R. D., *French Theory of a Nation in Arms, 1886-1939*. Columbia. pp. 305. \$4.50.

Dinerstein and Dinerstein, *Communism and the Russian Peasant: Moscow in Crisis*. Free Press, Glencoe, Ill. pp. 272. \$4.50.

Duffy, James, *Shipwreck and Empire*. Harvard. pp. 205. \$4.00.

Farmer, Paul, *Vichy*. Columbia. pp. 382. \$5.50.

Gadourek, I., *The Political Control of Czechoslovakia*. Praeger. pp. 301. \$5.00.

Harrison, E. H., *The Age of Reformation*. Cornell Univ. pp. 154. \$1.25.

Herbst and Doyle, *The Letters of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque*. Regnery. pp. 269. \$5.00.

Kochan, Lionel, *Acton on History*. British Bk. Centre. pp. 184. \$3.00.

Kohn, Hans, *Making of the Modern French Mind*. Van Nostrand. pp. 191. \$1.25.

Kukier, M., *Czartoryski and European Unity (1770-1861)*. Princeton. pp. 322. \$6.00.

Mourret-Thompson, *History of the Catholic Church*. Herder. Volume VII. pp. 574. \$9.75.

Palickar, S. J., *Slovakian Culture*. Hampshire Press. pp. 300. \$3.75.

Price and Mather, *A Portrait of Britain under the Tudors and Stuarts, 1485-1688*. Oxford. pp. 288. \$1.40.

Rex, M. B., *University Representation in England 1604-1690*. Barnes and Noble. pp. 408. \$7.50.

Richter, W., *The Mad Monarch*. Regnery. pp. 280. \$5.00.

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